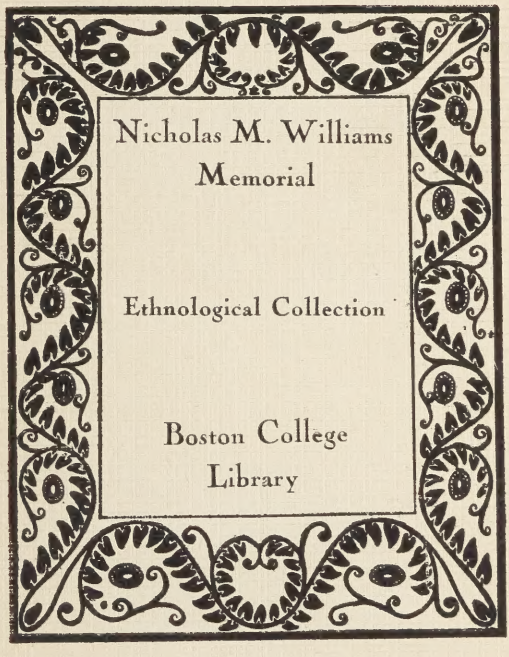
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THOUGHTS

AND

SENTIMENTS

ON THE

EVIL

OF

SLAVERY.

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EVIL

OF

SLAVERY.

THOUGHTS AND SENTIMENTS

ON THE

EVIL AND WICKED TRAFFIC

OF THE

SLAVERY AND COMMERCE

OF THE

HUMAN SPECIES,

HUMBLY SUBMITTED TO

The INHABITANTS of *GREAT-BRITAIN*,

BY

OTTOBAH CUGOANO,

A NATIVE of *AFRICA*.

He that ſtealeth a man and ſelleth him, or maketh merchandize of him, or if he be found in his hand: then that thief ſhall die. LAW OF GOD.

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THOUGHTS AND SENTIMENTS

ON THE

EVIL OF SLAVERY.

One law, and one manner ſhall be for you, and for the ſtranger that ſojourneth with you; and therefore, all things whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them.

Numb. xv. 16.—Math. vii. 12.

AS ſeveral learned gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed abilities, as well as eminent for their great humanity, liberality and candour, have written various eſſays againſt that infamous traffic of the African Slave Trade, carried on with the Weſt-India planters and merchants, to the great ſhame and diſgrace of all Chriſtian nations wherever it is admitted in any of their territories, or in any place or ſituation amongſt them; it cannot be amiſs that I ſhould thankfully acknowledge theſe truly worthy and humane gentlemen with the warmeſt ſenſe of gratitude, for their beneficent and laudable endeavours towards a total ſuppreſſion of that infamous and iniquitous traffic of ſtealing, kid-napping, buying, ſelling, and cruelly enſlaving men!

Thoſe who have endeavoured to reſtore to their fellow-creatures the common rights of nature, of which eſpecially the poor unfortunate Black People have been ſo unjuſtly deprived, cannot fail in meeting with the applauſe of all good men, and the approbation of that which will for ever redound to their honor; they have the warrant of that which is divine: *Open thy mouth, judge righteouſly, plead the cauſe of the poor and needy; for the liberal deviſeth liberal things, and by liberal things ſhall ſtand.* And they can ſay with the pious Job, *Did not I weep for him that was in trouble; was not my ſoul grieved for the poor?*

The kind exertions of many benevolent and humane gentlemen, againſt the iniquitous traffic of ſlavery and oppreſſion, has been attended with much good to many, and muſt redound with great honor to themſelves, to humanity and their country; their laudable endeavours have been productive of the moſt beneficent effects in preventing that ſavage barbarity from taking place in free countries at home. In this, as well as in many other reſpects, there is one claſs of people (whoſe virtues of probity and humanity are well known) who are worthy of univerſal approbation and imitation, becauſe, like men of honor and humanity, they have jointly agreed to carry on no ſlavery and ſavage barbarity among them; and, ſince the laſt war, ſome mitigation of ſlavery has been obtained in ſome reſpective diſtricts of America, though not in proportion to their own vaunted claims of freedom; but it is to be hoped, that they will yet go on to make a further and greater reformation. However, notwithſtanding all that has been done and written againſt it, that brutiſh barbarity, and unparalelled injuſtice, is ſtill carried

ried on to a very great extent in the colonies, and with an avidity as inſidious, cruel and oppreſſive as ever. The longer that men continue in the practice of evil and wickedneſs, they grow the more abandoned; for nothing in hiſtory can equal the barbarity and cruelty of the tortures and murders committed under various pretences in modern ſlavery, except the annals of the Inquiſition and the bloody edicts of Popiſh maſſacres.

It is therefore manifeſt, that ſomething elſe ought yet to be done; and what is required, is evidently the incumbent duty of all men of enlightened underſtanding, and of every man that has any claim or affinity to the name of Chriſtian, that the baſe treatment which the African Slaves undergo, ought to be aboliſhed; and it is moreover evident, that the whole, or any part of that iniquitous traffic of ſlavery, can no where, or in any degree, be admitted, but among thoſe who muſt eventually reſign their own claim to any degree of ſenſibility and humanity, for that of barbarians and ruffians.

But it would be needleſs to arrange an hiſtory of all the baſe treatment which the African Slaves are ſubjected to, in order to ſhew the exceeding wickedneſs and evil of that inſidious traffic, as the whole may eaſily appear in every part, and at every view, to be wholly and totally inimical to every idea of juſtice, equity, reaſon and humanity. What I intend to advance againſt that evil, criminal and wicked traffic of enſlaving men, are only ſome Thoughts and Sentiments which occur to me, as being obvious from the Scriptures of Divine Truth, or ſuch arguments as are chiefly deduced from thence, with other ſuch obſervations as I have been able to collect. Some

of theſe obſervations may lead into a larger field of conſideration, than that of the African Slave Trade alone; but thoſe cauſes from wherever they originate, and become the production of ſlavery, the evil effects produced by it, muſt ſhew that its origin and ſource is of a wicked and criminal nature.

No neceſſity, or any ſituation of men, however poor, pitiful and wretched they may be, can warrant them to rob others, or oblige them to become thieves, becauſe they are poor, miſerable and wretched: But the robbers of men, the kidnappers, enſnarers and ſlave-holders, who take away the common rights and privileges of others to ſupport and enrich themſelves, are univerſally thoſe pitiful and deteſtable wretches; for the enſnaring of others, and taking away their liberty by ſlavery and oppreſſion, is the worſt kind of robbery, as moſt oppoſite to every precept and injunction of the Divine Law, and contrary to that command which enjoins that *all men ſhould love their neighbours as themſelves*, and *that they ſhould do unto others, as they would that men ſhould do to them.* As to any other laws that ſlave-holders may make among themſelves, as reſpecting ſlaves, they can be of no better kind, nor give them any better character, than what is implied in the common report—that there may be ſome honeſty among thieves. This may ſeem a harſh compariſon, but the parallel is ſo coincident that, I muſt ſay, I can find no other way of expreſſing my Thoughts and Sentiments, without making uſe of ſome harſh words and compariſons againſt the carriers on of ſuch abandoned wickedneſs. But, in this little undertaking, I muſt humbly hope the impartial reader will excuſe ſuch

defects

defects as may arise from want of better education; and as to the resentment of those who can lay their cruel lash upon the backs of thousands, for a thousand times less crimes than writing against their enormous wickedness and brutal avarice, is what I may be sure to meet with.

However, it cannot but be very discouraging to a man of my complexion in such an attempt as this, to meet with the evil aspersions of some men, who say, "That an African is not entitled "to any competent degree of knowledge, or ca- "pable of imbibing any sentiments of probity; "and that nature designed him for some inferior "link in the chain, fitted only to be a slave." But when I meet with those who make no scruple to deal with the human species, as with the beasts of the earth, I must think them not only brutish, but wicked and base; and that their aspersions are insidious and false: And if such men can boast of greater degrees of knowledge, than any African is entitled to, I shall let them enjoy all the advantages of it unenvied, as I fear it consists only in a greater share of infidelity, and that of a blacker kind than only skin deep. And if their complexion be not what I may suppose, it is at least the nearest in resemblance to an infernal hue. A good man will neither speak nor do as a bad man will; but if a man is bad, it makes no difference whether he be a black or a white devil.

By some of such complexion, as whether black or white it matters not, I was early snatched away from my native country, with about eighteen or twenty more boys and girls, as we were playing in a field. We lived but a few days journey from the coast where we were kid-napped, and as we were decoyed and drove along, we were soon con-

ducted to a factory, and from thence, in the fashionable way of traffic, consigned to Grenada. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few remarks, as some account of myself, in this transposition of captivity.

I was born in the city of Agimaque, on the coast of Fantyn; my father was a companion to the chief in that part of the country of Fantee, and when the old king died I was left in his house with his family; soon after I was sent for by his nephew, Ambro Accasa, who succeeded the old king in the chiefdom of that part of Fantee known by the name of Agimaque and Affinee. I lived with his children, enjoying peace and tranquillity, about twenty moons, which, according to their way of reckoning time, is two years. I was sent for to visit an uncle, who lived at a considerable distance from Agimaque. The first day after we set out we arrived at Affinee, and the third day at my uncle's habitation, where I lived about three months, and was then thinking of returning to my father and young companion at Agimaque; but by this time I had got well acquainted with some of the children of my uncle's hundreds of relations, and we were some days too venturSome in going into the woods to gather fruit and catch birds, and such amusements as pleased us. One day I refused to go with the rest, being rather apprehensive that something might happen to us; till one of my play-fellows said to me, because you belong to the great men, you are afraid to venture your carcase, or else of the *bounsam*, which is the devil. This enraged me so much, that I set a resolution to join the rest, and we went into the woods as usual; but we had not been above two hours before our troubles began, when

when ſeveral great ruffians came upon us ſuddenly, and ſaid we had committed a fault againſt their lord, and we muſt go and anſwer for it ourſelves before him.

Some of us attempted in vain to run away, but piſtols and cutlaſſes were ſoon introduced, threatening, that if we offered to ſtir we ſhould all lie dead on the ſpot. One of them pretended to be more friendly than the reſt, and ſaid, that he would ſpeak to their lord to get us clear, and deſired that we ſhould follow him; we were then immediately divided into different parties, and drove after him. We were ſoon led out of the way which we knew, and towards the evening, as we came in ſight of a town, they told us that this great man of theirs lived there, but pretended it was too late to go and ſee him that night. Next morning there came three other men, whoſe language differed from ours, and ſpoke to ſome of thoſe who watched us all the night, but he that pretended to be our friend with the great man, and ſome others, were gone away. We aſked our keepers what theſe men had been ſaying to them, and they anſwered, that they had been aſking them, and us together, to go and feaſt with them that day, and that we muſt put off ſeeing the great man till after; little thinking that our doom was ſo nigh, or that theſe villains meant to feaſt on us as their prey. We went with them again about half a day's journey, and came to a great multitude of people, having different muſic playing; and all the day after we got there, we were very merry with the muſic, dancing and ſinging. Towards the evening, we were again perſuaded that we could not get back to where the great man lived till next day; and when bed-

time

time came, we were ſeparated into different houſes with different people. When the next morning came, I aſked for the men that brought me there, and for the reſt of my companions; and I was told that they were gone to the ſea ſide to bring home ſome rum, guns and powder, and that ſome of my companions were gone with them, and that ſome were gone to the fields to do ſomething or other. This gave me ſtrong ſuſpicion that there was ſome treachery in the caſe, and I began to think that my hopes of returning home again were all over. I ſoon became very uneaſy, not knowing what to do, and refuſed to eat or drink for whole days together, till the man of the houſe told me that he would do all in his power to get me back to my uncle; then I eat a little fruit with him, and had ſome thoughts that I ſhould be ſought after, as I would be then miſſing at home about five or ſix days. I enquired every day if the men had come back, and for the reſt of my companions, but could get no anſwer of any ſatisfaction. I was kept about ſix days at this man's houſe, and in the evening there was another man came and talked with him a good while, and I heard the one ſay to the other he muſt go, and the other ſaid the ſooner the better; that man came out and told me that he knew my relations at Agimaque, and that we muſt ſet out to-morrow morning, and he would convey me there. Accordingly we ſet out next day, and travelled till dark, when we came to a place where we had ſome ſupper and ſlept. He carried a large bag with ſome gold duſt, which he ſaid he had to buy ſome goods at the ſea ſide to take with him to Agimaque. Next day we travelled on, and in the evening came to a town, where I ſaw ſeveral white

defects as may arise from want of better education; and as to the resentment of those who can lay their cruel lash upon the backs of thousands, for a thousand times less crimes than writing against their enormous wickedness and brutal avarice, is what I may be sure to meet with.

However, it cannot but be very discouraging to a man of my complexion in such an attempt as this, to meet with the evil aspersions of some men, who say, "That an African is not entitled "to any competent degree of knowledge, or ca-"pable of imbibing any sentiments of probity; "and that nature designed him for some inferior "link in the chain, fitted only to be a slave." But when I meet with those who make no scruple to deal with the human species, as with the beasts of the earth, I must think them not only brutish, but wicked and base; and that their aspersions are insidious and false: And if such men can boast of greater degrees of knowledge, than any African is entitled to, I shall let them enjoy all the advantages of it unenvied, as I fear it consists only in a greater share of infidelity, and that of a blacker kind than only skin deep. And if their complexion be not what I may suppose, it is at least the nearest in resemblance to an infernal hue. A good man will neither speak nor do as a bad man will; but if a man is bad, it makes no difference whether he be a black or a white devil.

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we continued ſeveral days in ſight of our native land; but I could find no good perſon to give any information of my ſituation to Accaſa at Agimaque. And when we found ourſelves at laſt taken away, death was more preferable than life, and a plan was concerted amongſt us, that we might burn and blow up the ſhip, and to periſh all together in the flames; but we were betrayed by one of our own countrywomen, who ſlept with ſome of the head men of the ſhip, for it was common for the dirty filthy ſailors to take the African women and lie upon their bodies; but the men were chained and pent up in holes. It was the women and boys which were to burn the ſhip, with the approbation and groans of the reſt; though that was prevented, the diſcovery was likewiſe a cruel bloody ſcene.

But it would be needleſs to give a deſcription of all the horrible ſcenes which we ſaw, and the baſe treatment which we met with in this dreadful captive ſituation, as the ſimilar caſes of thouſands, which ſuffer by this infernal traffic, are well known. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that I was thus loſt to my dear indulgent parents and relations, and they to me. All my help was cries and tears, and theſe could not avail; nor ſuffered long, till one ſucceeding woe, and dread, ſwelled up another. Brought from a ſtate of innocence and freedom, and, in a barbarous and cruel manner, conveyed to a ſtate of horror and ſlavery: This abandoned ſituation may be eaſier conceived than deſcribed. From the time that I was kid-napped and conducted to a factory, and from thence in the brutiſh, baſe, but faſhionable way of traffic, conſigned to Grenada, the grievous thoughts which I then felt, ſtill pant in my heart; though my fears

and

when ſeveral great ruffians came upon us ſuddenly, and ſaid we had committed a fault againſt their lord, and we muſt go and anſwer for it ourſelves before him.

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time

in this pitiful, diſtreſſed and horrible ſituation, with all the brutiſh baſeneſs and barbarity attending it, could not but fill my little mind with horror and indignation. But I muſt own, to the ſhame of my own countrymen, that I was firſt kid-napped and betrayed by ſome of my own complexion, who were the firſt cauſe of my exile and ſlavery; but if there were no buyers there would be no ſellers. So far as I can remember, ſome of the Africans in my country keep ſlaves, which they take in war, or for debt; but thoſe which they keep are well fed, and good care taken of them, and treated well; and, as to their cloathing, they differ according to the cuſtom of the country. But I may ſafely ſay, that all the poverty and miſery that any of the inhabitants of Africa meet with among themſelves, is far inferior to thoſe inhoſpitable regions of miſery which they meet with in the Weſt-Indies, where their hard-hearted overſeers have neither regard to the laws of God, nor the life of their fellow-men.

Thanks be to God, I was delivered from Grenada, and that horrid brutal ſlavery.—A gentleman coming to England, took me for his ſervant, and brought me away, where I ſoon found my ſituation become more agreeable. After coming to England, and ſeeing others write and read, I had a ſtrong deſire to learn, and getting what aſſiſtance I could, I applied myſelf to learn reading and writing, which ſoon became my recreation, pleaſure, and delight; and when my maſter perceived that I could write ſome, he ſent me to a proper ſchool for that purpoſe to learn. Since, I have endeavoured to improve my mind in reading, and have ſought to get all the intelligence I could, in my ſituation of life, towards the ſtate of

my

white people, which made me afraid that they would eat me, according to our notion as children in the inland parts of the country. This made me reſt very uneaſy all the night, and next morning I had ſome victuals brought, deſiring me to eat and make haſte, as my guide and kid-napper told me that he had to go to the caſtle with ſome company that were going there, as he had told me before, to get ſome goods. After I was ordered out, the horrors I ſoon ſaw and felt, cannot be well deſcribed; I ſaw many of my miſerable countrymen chained two and two, ſome hand-cuffed, and ſome with their hands tied behind. We were conducted along by a guard, and when we arrived at the caſtle, I aſked my guide what I was brought there for, he told me to learn the ways of the *browfow*, that is the white faced people. I ſaw him take a gun, a piece of cloth, and ſome lead for me, and then he told me that he muſt now leave me there, and went off. This made me cry bitterly, but I was ſoon conducted to a priſon, for three days, where I heard the groans and cries of many, and ſaw ſome of my fellow-captives. But when a veſſel arrived to conduct us away to the ſhip, it was a moſt horrible ſcene; there was nothing to be heard but rattling of chains, ſmacking of whips, and the groans and cries of our fellow-men. Some would not ſtir from the ground, when they were laſhed and beat in the moſt horrible manner. I have forgot the name of this infernal fort; but we were taken in the ſhip that came for us, to another that was ready to ſail from Cape Coaſt. When we were put into the ſhip, we ſaw ſeveral black merchants coming on board, but we were all drove into our holes, and not ſuffered to ſpeak to any of them. In this ſituation

we

that ineſtimable compilation of books, the Bible? And, O what a treaſure to have, and one of the greateſt advantages to be able to read therein, and a divine bleſſing to underſtand *!

But, to return to my ſubject, I begin with the Curſory Remarker. This man ſtiles himſelf a friend to the Weſt-India colonies and their inhabitants, like Demetrius, the ſilverſmith, a man of ſome conſiderable abilities, ſeeing their craft in danger, a craft, however, not ſo innocent and juſtifiable as the making of ſhrines for Diana, though that was baſe and wicked enough to enſlave the minds of men with ſuperſtition and idolatry; but his craft, and the gain of thoſe craftſmen, conſiſts in the enſlaving both ſoul and body to the cruel idolatry, and moſt abominable ſervice and ſlavery, to the idol of curſed avarice: And as he finds ſome diſcoveries of their wicked traffic held up in a light where truth and facts are ſo clearly ſeen, as none but the moſt deſperate villain would dare to obſtruct or oppoſe, he therefore ſallies forth with all the deſperation of an

* The juſtly celebrated Dr. Young, in recommending this divine book of heavenly wiſdom to the giddy and thoughtleſs world, in his Night Thoughts, has the following elegant lines:

Perhaps thou'dſt langh but at thine own expence,
This counſel ſtrange ſhould I preſume to give;
Retire and read thy Bible to be gay;
There truths abound of ſov'reign aid to peace.
Ah, do not prize it leſs becauſe inſpired.
Read and revere the ſacred page; a page,
Where triumphs immortality; a page,
Which not the whole creation could produce;
Which not the conflagration ſhall deſtroy;
In nature's ruin not one letter's loſt,
'Tis printed in the mind of gods for ever,
Angels and men aſſent to what I ſing!

Utopian

and tears have long ſince ſubſided. And yet it is ſtill grievous to think that thouſands more have ſuffered in ſimilar and greater diſtreſs, under the hands of barbarous robbers, and mercileſs taſk-maſters; and that many even now are ſuffering in all the extreme bitterneſs of grief and woe, that no language can deſcribe The cries of ſome, and the ſight of their miſery, may be ſeen and heard afar; but the deep ſounding groans of thouſands, and the great ſadneſs of their miſery and woe, under the heavy load of oppreſſions and calamities inflicted upon them, are ſuch as can only be diſtinctly known to the ears of Jehovah Sabaoth.

This Lord of Hoſts, in his great Providence, and in great mercy to me, made a way for my deliverance from Grenada.—Being in this dreadful captivity and horrible ſlavery, without any hope of deliverance, for about eight or nine months, beholding the moſt dreadful ſcenes of miſery and cruelty, and ſeeing my miſerable companions often cruelly laſhed, and as it were cut to pieces, for the moſt trifling faults; this made me often tremble and weep, but I eſcaped better than many of them. For eating a piece of ſugar-cane, ſome were cruelly laſhed, or ſtruck over the face to knock their teeth out. Some of the ſtouter ones, I ſuppoſe often reproved, and grown hardened and ſtupid with many cruel beatings and laſhings, or perhaps faint and preſſed with hunger and hard labour, were often committing treſpaſſes of this kind, and when detected, they met with exemplary puniſhment. Some told me they had their teeth pulled out to deter others, and to prevent them from eating any cane in future. Thus ſeeing my miſerable companions and countrymen

in

caſe, according to the proverb, there may be ſome honor among thieves; but theſe are the only people in the world that ought to ſuffer ſome puniſhment, impriſonment or ſlavery; their external complexion, whether black or white, ſhould be no excuſe for them to do evil. Being aware of this, perhaps he was afraid that ſome of his friends, the great and opulent banditti of ſlaveholders in the weſtern part of the world, might be found guilty of more atrocious and complicated crimes, than even thoſe of the highwaymen, the robberies and the petty larcenies committed in England. Therefore, to make the beſt of this ſad dilemma, he brings in a ludicrous invective compariſon that it would be "an event which "would undoubtedly furniſh a new and pleaſant "compartment to that well known and moſt de-"lectable print, call'd, *The world turn'd up ſide* "*down*, in which the cook is roaſted by the pig, "the man ſaddled by the horſe," &c. If he means that the complicated banditties of pirates, thieves, robbers, oppreſſors and enſlavers of men, are thoſe cooks and men that would be roaſted and ſaddled, it certainly would be no unpleaſant ſight to ſee them well roaſted, ſaddled and bridled too; and no matter by whom, whether he terms them pigs, horſes or aſſes. But there is not much likelihood of this ſilly monkeyiſh compariſon as yet being verified, in bringing the opulent pirates and thieves to condign puniſhment, ſo that he could very well bring it in to turn it off with a grin. However, to make uſe of his words, it would be a moſt delectable ſight, when thieves and robbers get the upper ſide of the world, to ſee them turned down; and I ſhould not interrupt his mirth, to ſee him laugh at his own

my brethren and countrymen in complexion, and of the miſerable ſituation of thoſe who are barbarouſly ſold into captivity, and unlawfully held in ſlavery.

But, among other obſervations, one great duty I owe to Almighty God, (the thankful acknowledgement I would not omit for any conſideration) that, although I have been brought away from my native country, in that torrent of robbery and wickedneſs, thanks be to God for his good providence towards me; I have both obtained liberty, and acquired the great advantages of ſome little learning, in being able to read and write, and, what is ſtill infinitely of greater advantage, I truſt, to know ſomething of HIM *who is that God whoſe providence rules over all, and who is the only Potent One that rules in the nations over the children of men. It is unto Him, who is the Prince of the Kings of the earth, that I would give all thanks.* And, in ſome manner, I may ſay with Joſeph, as he did with reſpect to the evil intention of his brethren, when they ſold him into Egypt, that whatever evil intentions and bad motives thoſe inſidious robbers had in carrying me away from my native country and friends, I truſt, was what the Lord intended for my good. In this reſpect, I am highly indebted to many of the good people of England for learning and principles unknown to the people of my native country. But, above all, what have I obtained from the Lord God of Hoſts, the God of the Chriſtians! in that divine revelation of the only true God, and the Saviour of men, what a treaſure of wiſdom and bleſſings are involved? How wonderful is the divine goodneſs diſplayed in thoſe invaluable books the Old and New Teſtaments, that

perior to that of beaſts; and, in like manner, whatever circumſtances poor freemen may be in, their ſituation is much ſuperior, beyond any proportion, to that of the hardſhips and cruelty of modern ſlavery. But where can the ſituation of any freeman be ſo bad as that of a ſlave; or, could ſuch be found, or even worſe, as he would have it, what would the compariſon amount to? Would it plead for his craft of ſlavery and oppreſſion? Or, rather, would it not cry aloud for ſome redreſs, and what every well regulated ſociety of men ought to hear and conſider, that none ſhould ſuffer want or be oppreſſed among them? And this ſeems to be pointed out by the circumſtances which he deſcribes; that it is the great duty, and ought to be the higheſt ambition of all governors, to order and eſtabliſh ſuch policy, and in ſuch a wiſe manner, that every thing ſhould be ſo managed, as to be conducive to the moral, temporal and eternal welfare of every individual from the loweſt degree to the higheſt; and the conſequence of this would be, the harmony, happineſs and good proſperity of the whole community.

But this crafty author has alſo, in defence of his own or his employer's craft in the Britiſh Weſt-India ſlavery, given ſundry compariſons and deſcriptions of the treatment of ſlaves in the French iſlands and ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies and America. And, contrary to what is the true caſe, he would have it ſuppoſed that the treatment of the ſlaves in the former, is milder than the latter; but even in this, unwarily for his own craft of ſlavery, all that he has advanced, can only add matter for its confutation, and ſerve to heighten the ardour and wiſh of every generous

Utopian aſſailant, to tell lies by a virulent contradiction of facts, and with falſe aſperſions endeavour to calumniate the worthy and judicious eſſayeſt of that diſcovery, a man, whoſe character is irreproachable. By thus artfully ſuppoſing, if he could bring the reputation of the author, who has diſcovered ſo much of their iniquitous traffic, into diſpute, his work would fall and be leſs regarded. However, this virulent craftſman has done no great merit to his cauſe and the credit of that infamous craft; at the appearance of truth, his underſtanding has got the better of his avarice and infidelity, ſo far, as to draw the following conceſſion: "I ſhall not be ſo far miſunder-"ſtood, by the candid and judicious part of man-"kind, as to be ranked among the advocates of "ſlavery, as I moſt ſincerely join Mr. Ramſay *, "and every other man of ſenſibility, in hoping "the bleſſings of freedom will, in due time, be "equally diffuſed over the whole globe."

By this, it would ſeem that he was a little aſhamed of his craftſmen, and would not like to be ranked or appear amongſt them. But as long as there are any hopes of gain to be made by that inſidious craft, he can join with them well enough, and endeavour to juſtify them in that moſt abandoned traffic of buying, ſelling, and enſlaving men. He finds fault with a plan for puniſhing robbers, thieves and vagabonds, who diſtreſs their neighbours by their thrift, robbery and plunder, without regarding any laws human or divine, except the rules of their own fraternity, and in that

* The worthy and judicious author of "An Eſſay on the "Treatment and Converſion of the African Slaves in the "Britiſh Sugar Colonies.

caſe,

fare, is not to be regarded. He will exclaim againſt the teachers of obedience to it; and tells us, that the poor, and the oppreſſed, and the heavy burdened ſlave, ſhould not lay down his load that day, but appropriate theſe hours of ſacred reſt to labour in ſome bit of uſeful ground. His own words are, " to dedicate the unappro-
" priated hours of Sunday to the cultivation of
" this uſeful ſpot, he is brought up to believe
" would be the worſt of ſins, and that the ſab-
" bath is a day of abſolute and univerſal reſt is a
" truth he hears frequently inculcated by the cu-
" rate of the pariſh," &c. But after bringing it about in this round-about way and manner, whatever the curate has to ſay of it as a truth, he would have us by no means to regard. This may ſerve as a ſpecimen of his crafty and deteſtable production, where infidelity, falſe aſperſions, virulent calumnies, and lying contradictions abound throughout. I ſhall only refer him to that deſcription which he meant for another, as moſt applicable and beſt ſuited for himſelf; and ſo long as he does not renounce his craft, as well as to be ſomewhat aſhamed of his craftſmen and their inſenſibility, he may thus ſtand as deſcribed by himſelf: " A man of warm imagination (but
" ſtrange infatuated unfeeling ſenſibility) to paint
" things not as they really are, but as his rooted
" prejudices repreſent them, and even to ſhut his
" eyes againſt the convictions afforded him by his
" own ſenſes."

But ſuch is the inſenſibility of men, when their own craft of gain is advanced by the ſlavery and oppreſſion of others, that after all the laudable exertions of the truly virtuous and humane, towards extending the beneficence of liberty and freedom

own invective monkeyiſh compariſon as long as he pleaſes.

But again, when he draws a compariſon of the many hardſhips that the poor in Great-Britain and Ireland labour under, as well as many of thoſe in ot er countries; that their various diſtreſſes are worſe than the Weſt India ſlaves—It may be true, in part, that ſome of them ſuffer greater hardſhips than many of the ſlaves; but, bad as it is, the pooreſt in England would not change their ſituation for that of ſlaves. And there may be ſome maſters, under various circumſtances, worſe off than their ſervants; but they would not change their own ſituation for theirs: Nor as little would a rich man wiſh to change his ſituation of affluence, for that of a beggar: and ſo, likewiſe, no freeman, however poor and diſtreſſing his ſituation may be, would reſign his liberty for that of a ſlave, in the ſituation of a horſe or a dog. The caſe of the poor, whatever their hardſhips may be, in free countries, is widely different from that of the Weſt-India ſlaves. For the ſlaves, like animals, are bought and ſold, and dealt with as their capricious owners may think fit, even in torturing and tearing them to pieces, and wearing them out with hard labour, hunger and oppreſſion; and ſhould the death of a ſlave enſue by ſome other more violent way than that which is commonly the death of thouſands, and tens of thouſands in the end, the haughty tyrant, in that caſe, has only to pay a ſmall fine for the murder and death of his ſlave. The brute creation in general may fare better than man, and ſome dogs may refuſe the crumbs that the diſtreſſed poor would be glad of; but the nature and ſituation of man is far ſu-

of them) be what it will, it is not the intention of thoſe who bring them away to make them better by it; nor is the deſign of ſlave-holders of any other intention, but that they may ſerve them as a kind of engines and beaſts of burden; that their own eaſe and profit may be advanced, by a ſet of poor helpleſs men and women. whom they deſpiſe and rank with brutes, and keep them in perpetual ſlavery, both themſelves and children, and merciful death is the only releaſe from their toil. By the benevolence of ſome, a few may get their liberty, and by their own induſtry and ingenuity, may acquire ſome learning, mechanical trades, or uſeful buſineſs; and ſome may be brought away by different gentlemen to free countries, where they get their liberty, but no thanks to ſlave-holders for it. But amongſt thoſe who get their liberty, like all other ignorant men, are generally more corrupt in their morals, than they poſſibly could have been amongſt their own people in Africa; for, being moſtly amongſt the wicked and apoſtate Chriſtians, they ſooner learn their oaths and blaſphemies, and their evil ways, than any thing elſe. Some few, indeed, may eventually arrive at ſome knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, and the great advantages of it. Such was the caſe of Ukawſaw Gronioſaw, an African prince, who lived in England He was a long time in a ſtate of great poverty and diſtreſs, and muſt have died at one time for want, if a good and charitable Attorney had not ſupported him. He was long after in a very poor ſtate, but he would not have given his faith in the Chriſtian religion, in exchange for all the kingdoms of Africa, if they could have been given to him, in place of his poverty, for it.

And

generous mind, that the whole ſhould be aboliſhed. An equal degree of enormity found in one place, cannot juſtify crimes of as great or greater enormity committed in another. The various depredations committed by robbers and plunderers, on different parts of the globe, may not be all equally alike bad, but their evil and malignancy, in every appearance and ſhape, can only hold up to view the juſt obſervation, that

Virtue herſelf hath ſuch peculiar mein,
Vice, to be hated, needs but to be ſeen.

The farther and wider that the diſcovery and knowledge of ſuch an enormous evil, as the baſe and villainous treatment and ſlavery which the poor unfortunate Black People meet with, is ſpread and made known, the cry for juſtice, even virtue lifting up her voice, muſt riſe the louder and higher, for the ſcale of equity and juſtice to be lifted up in their defence. *And doth not wiſdom cry, and underſtanding put forth her voice?* But who will regard the voice and hearken to the cry? Not the ſneaking advocates for ſlavery, though a little aſhamed of their craft; like the monſtrous crocodile weeping over their prey with fine conceſſions (while gorging their own rapacious appetite) to hope for univerſal freedom taking place over the globe. Not thoſe inebriated with avarice and infidelity, who hold in defiance every regard due to the divine law, and who endeavour all they can to deſtroy and take away the natural and common rights and privileges of men. Not the inſolent and crafty author for ſlavery and oppreſſion, who would have us to believe that the benign command of God in appointing the ſeventh day for a ſabbath of reſt for the good purpoſes of our preſent and eternal wel-

ſlavery is an evil of the firſt magnitude, and a moſt horrible iniquity to traffic with ſlaves and ſouls of men; and an evil, ſorry I am, that it ſtill ſubſiſts, and more aſtoniſhing to think, that it is an iniquity committed amongſt Chriſtians, and contrary to all the genuine principles of Chriſtianity, and yet carried on by men denominated thereby.

In a Chriſtian æra, in a land where Chriſtianity is planted, where every one might expect to behold the flouriſhing growth of every virtue, extending their harmonious branches with univerſal philanthropy wherever they came; but, on the contrary, almoſt nothing elſe is to be ſeen abroad but the bramble of ruffians, barbarians and ſlave-holders, grown up to a powerful luxuriance in wickedneſs. I cannot but wiſh, for the honor of Chriſtianity, that the bramble grown up amongſt them, was known to the heathen nations by a different name, for ſure the depredators, robbers and enſnarers of men can never be Chriſtians, but ought to be held as the abhorence of all men, and the abomination of all mankind, whether Chriſtians or heathens. Every man of any ſenſibility, whether he be a Chriſtian or an heathen, if he has any diſcernment at all, muſt think, that for any man, or any claſs of men, to deal with their fellow-creatures as with the beaſts of the field; or to account them as ſuch, however ignorant they may be, and in whatever ſituation, or wherever they may find them, and whatever country or complexion they may be of, that thoſe men, who are the procurers and holders of ſlaves, are the greateſt villains in the world. And ſurely thoſe men muſt be loſt to all ſenſibility themſelves, who can think that the ſtealing, robbing,

freedom to the much degraded and unfortunate Africans, which is the common right and privilege of all men, in every thing that is juſt, lawful and conſiſtent, we find the principles of juſtice and equity, not only oppoſed, and every duty in religion and humanity left unregarded; but that unlawful traffic of dealing with our fellow-creatures, as with the beaſts of the earth, ſtill carried on with as great aſſiduity as ever; and that the inſidious piracy of procuring and holding ſlaves is countenanced and ſupported by the government of ſundry Chriſtian nations. This ſeems to be the faſhionable way of getting riches, but very diſhonourable; in doing this, the ſlave-holders are meaner and baſer than the African ſlaves, for while they ſubject and reduce them to a degree with brutes, they ſeduce themſelves to a degree with devils.

"Some pretend that the Africans, in general, "are a ſet of poor, ignorant, diſperſed, unſociable people; and that they think it no crime to "ſell one another, and even their own wives and "children; therefore they bring them away to a "ſituation where many of them may arrive to a "better ſtate than ever they could obtain in their "own native country." This ſpecious pretence is without any ſhadow of juſtice and truth, and, if the argument was even true, it could afford no juſt and warrantable matter for any ſociety of men to hold ſlaves. But the argument is falſe; there can be no ignorance, diſperſion, or unſociableneſs ſo found among them, which can be made better by bringing them away to a ſtate of a degree equal to that of a cow or a horſe.

But let their ignorance in ſome things (in which the Europeans have greatly the advantage

ropean market, and ſold. They have a great averſion to murder, or even in taking away the lives of thoſe which they judge guilty of crimes; and, therefore, they prefer diſpoſing of them otherwiſe better than killing them *. This gives their merchants and procurers of ſlaves a power to travel a great way into the interior parts of the country to buy ſuch as are wanted to be diſpoſed of. Theſe ſlave-procurers are a ſet of as great villains as any in the world. They often ſteal and kidnap many more than they buy at firſt, if they can meet with them by the way; and they have only their certain boundaries to go to, and ſell them from one to another; ſo that if they are ſought after and detected, the thieves are ſeldom found, and the others only plead that they bought them ſo and ſo. Theſe kid-nappers and ſlave-procurers, called merchants, are a ſpecies of African villains, which are greatly corrupted, and even viciated by their intercourſe with the Europeans; but, wicked and barbarous as they certainly are, I can hardly think, if they knew what horrible barbarity they were ſending their fellow-creatures to, that they would do it. But the artful Europeans have ſo deceived them, that they are bought by their inventions of merchandize, and beguiled into it by their artifice; for the Europeans, at their factories, in ſome various manner, have always kept ſome as ſervants to them, and with gaudy cloaths, in a

* It may be true, that ſome of the ſlaves tranſported from Africa, may have committed crimes in their own country, that require ſome ſlavery as a puniſhment; but, according to the laws of equity and juſtice, they ought to become free, as ſoon as their labour has paid for their purchaſe in the Weſt-Indies or elſewhere.

gay

And ſuch was A. Morrant in America. When a boy, he could ſtroll away into a deſart, and prefer the ſociety of wild beaſts to the abſurd Chriſtianity of his mother's houſe. He was conducted to the king of the Cherokees, who, in a miraculous manner, was induced by him to embrace the Chriſtian faith. This Morrant was in the Britiſh ſervice laſt war, and his royal convert, the king of the Cherokee Indians, accompanied General Clinton at the ſiege of Charles-Town.

Theſe, and all ſuch, I hope thouſands, as meet with the knowledge and grace of the Divine clemency, are brought forth quite contrary to the end and intention of all ſlavery, and, in general, of all ſlave-holders too. And ſhould it pleaſe the Divine goodneſs to viſit ſome of the poor dark Africans, even in the brutal ſtall of ſlavery, and from thence to inſtal them among the princes of his grace, and to inveſt them with a robe of honor that will hang about their necks for ever; but who can then ſuppoſe, that it will be well pleaſing unto him to find them ſubjected there in that dejected ſtate? Or can the ſlave-holders think that the Univerſal Father and Sovereign of Mankind will be well pleaſed with them, for the brutal tranſgreſſion of his law, in bowing down the necks of thoſe to the yoke of their cruel bondage? Sovereign goodneſs may eventually viſit ſome men even in a ſtate of ſlavery, but their ſlavery is not the cauſe of that event and benignity; and therefore, ſhould ſome event of good ever happen to ſome men ſubjected to ſlavery, that can plead nothing for men to do evil that good may come; and ſhould it apparently happen from thence, it is neither ſought for nor deſigned by the enſlavers of men. But the whole buſineſs of

and nothing can diſtreſs them more, than to part with any of their relations and friends. Such are the tender feelings of parents for their children, that, for the loſs of a child, they ſeldom can be rendered happy, even with the intercourſe and enjoyment of their friends, for years. For any man to think that it ſhould be otherwiſe, when he may ſee a thouſand inſtances of a natural inſtinct, even in the brute creation, where they have a ſympathetic feeling for their offspring; it muſt be great want of conſideration not to think, that much more than meerly what is natural to animals, ſhould in a higher degree be implanted in the breaſt of every part of the rational creation of man. And what man of feeling can help lamenting the loſs of parents, friends, liberty, and perhaps property and other valuable and dear connections. Thoſe people annually brought away from Guinea, are born as free, and are brought up with as great a predilection for their own country, freedom and liberty, as the ſons and daughters of fair Britain. Their free ſubjects are trained up to a kind of military ſervice, not ſo much by the deſire of the chief, as by their own voluntary inclination. It is looked upon as the greateſt reſpect they can ſhew to their king, to ſtand up for his and their own defence in time of need. Their different chieftains, which bear a reliance on the great chief, or king, exerciſe a kind of government ſomething like that feudal inſtitution which prevailed ſome time in Scotland. In this reſpect, though the common people are free, they often ſuffer by the villainy of their different chieftains, and by the wars and feuds which happen among them. Nevertheleſs their freedom and rights are as dear to them, as thoſe

privileges

robbing, enſlaving, and murdering of men can be no crimes; but the holders of men in ſlavery are at the head of all theſe oppreſſions and crimes. And, therefore, however unſenſible they may be of it now, and however long they may laugh at the calamity of others, if they do not repent of their evil way, and the wickedneſs of their doings, by keeping and holding their fellow-creatures in ſlavery, and trafficking with them as with the brute creation, and to give up and ſurrender that evil traffic, with an awful abhorrence of it, that this may be averred, if they do not, and if they can think, they muſt and cannot otherwiſe but expect in one day at laſt, to meet with the full ſtroke of the long ſuſpended vengeance of heaven, when death will cut them down to a ſtate as mean as that of the moſt abjected ſlave, and to a very eminent danger of a far more dreadful fate hereafter, when they have the juſt reward of their iniquities to meet with.

And now, as to the Africans being diſperſed and unſociable, if it was ſo, that could be no warrant for the Europeans to enſlave them; and even though they may have many different feuds and bad practices among them, the continent of Africa is of vaſt extent, and the numerous inhabitants are divided into ſeveral kingdoms and principalities, which are governed by their reſpective kings and princes, and thoſe are abſolutely maintained by their free ſubjects. Very few nations make ſlaves of any of thoſe under their government; but ſuch as are taken priſoners of war from their neighbours, are generally kept in that ſtate, until they can exchange and diſpoſe of them otherwiſe; and towards the weſt coaſt they are generally procured for the European

when rightly conſidered, teach, is, that no man ought to enſlave another; and ſome, who have been rightly guided thereby, have made noble defences for the univerſal natural rights and privileges of all men. But in this caſe, when the learned take neither revelation nor reaſon for their guide, they fall into as great, and worſe errors, than the unlearned; for they only make uſe of that ſyſtem of Divine wiſdom, which ſhould guide them into truth, when they can find or pick out any thing that will ſuit their purpoſe, or that they can pervert to ſuch—the very means of leading themſelves and others into error. And, in conſequence thereof, the pretences that ſome men make uſe of for holding of ſlaves, muſt be evidently the groſſeſt perverſion of reaſon, as well as an inconſiſtent and diabolical uſe of the ſacred writings. For it muſt be a ſtrange perverſion of reaſon, and a wrong uſe or diſbelief of the ſacred writings, when any thing found there is ſo perverted by them, and ſet up as a precedent and rule for men to commit wickedneſs. They had better have no reaſon, and no belief in the ſcriptures, and make no uſe of them at all, than only to believe, and make uſe of that which leads them into the moſt abominable evil and wickedneſs of dealing unjuſtly with their fellow men.

But this will appear evident to all men that believe the ſcriptures, that every reaſon neceſſary is given that they ſhould be believed; and, in this caſe, that they afford us this information: "That "all mankind did ſpring from one original, and "that there are no different ſpecies among men. "For God who made the world, hath made of "one blood all the nations of men that dwell on

"all

gay manner, as decoy ducks to deceive others, and to tell them that they want many more to go over the ſea, and be as they are. So in that reſpect, wherein it may be ſaid that they will ſell one another, they are only enſnared and enlifted to be ſervants, kept like ſome of thoſe which they ſee at the factories, which, for ſome gewgaws, as preſents given to themſelves and friends, they are thereby enticed to go; and ſomething after the ſame manner that Eaſt-India ſoldiers are procured in Britain; and the inhabitants here, juſt as much ſell themſelves, and one another, as they do; and the kid-nappers here, and the ſlave-procurers in Africa, are much alike: But many other barbarous methods are made uſe of by the vile inſtigators, procurers and enſnarers of men; and ſome of the wicked and profligate princes and chiefs of Africa accept of preſents, from the Europeans, to procure a certain number of ſlaves; and thereby they are wickedly inſtigated to go to war with one another on purpoſe to get them, which produces many terrible depredations; and ſometimes when thoſe engagements are entered into, and they find themſelves defeated of their purpoſe, it has happened that ſome of their own people have fallen a ſacrifice to their avarice and cruelty. And it may be ſaid of the Europeans, that they have made uſe of every inſidious method to procure ſlaves whenever they can, and in whatever manner they can lay hold of them, and that their forts and factories are the avowed dens of thieves for robbers, plunderers and depredators.

But again, as to the Africans ſelling their own wives and children, nothing can be more oppoſite to every thing they hold dear and valuable; and

country, and differing in ſomething from thoſe in another, even in the ſame latitudes, as well as from thoſe in different climates. Long cuſtom and the different way of living among the ſeveral inhabitants of the different parts of the earth, has a very great effect in diſtinguiſhing them by a difference of features and complexion. Theſe effects are eaſy to be ſeen; as to the cauſes, it is ſufficient for us to know, that all is the work of an Almighty hand. Therefore, as we find the diſtribution of the human ſpecies inhabiting the barren, as well as the moſt fruitful parts of the earth, and the cold as well as the moſt hot, differing from one another in complexion according to their ſituation; it may be reaſonably, as well as religiouſly, inferred, that He who placed them in their various ſituations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all; and from thence, that it becometh unlawful to counteract his benignity, by reducing others of different complexions to undeſerved bondage.

According, as we find that the difference of colour among men is only incidental, and equally natural to all, and agreeable to the place of their habitation; and that if nothing elſe be different or contrary among them, but that of features and complexion, in that reſpect, they are all equally alike entitled to the enjoyment of every mercy and bleſſing of God. But there are ſome men of that complexion, becauſe they are not black, whoſe ignorance and inſolence leads them to think, that thoſe who are black, were marked out in that manner by ſome ſignal interdiction or curſe, as originally deſcending from their progenitors. To thoſe I muſt ſay, that the only mark which we read of, as generally alluded

to,

privileges are to other people. And it may be ſaid that freedom, and the liberty of enjoying their own privileges, burns with as much zeal and fervour in the breaſt of an Æthiopian, as in the breaſt of any inhabitant on the globe.

But the ſupporters and favourers of ſlavery make other things a pretence and an excuſe in their own defence; ſuch as, that they find that it was admitted under the Divine inſtitution by Moſes, as well as the long continued practice of different nations for ages; and that the Africans are peculiarly marked out by ſome ſignal prediction in nature and complexion for that purpoſe.

This ſeems to be the greateſt bulwark of defence which the advocates and favourers of ſlavery can advance, and what is generally talked of in their favour by thoſe who do not underſtand it. I ſhall conſider it in that view, whereby it will appear, that they deceive themſelves and miſlead others. Men are never more liable to be drawn into error, than when truth is made uſe of in a guileful manner to ſeduce them. Thoſe who do not believe the ſcriptures to be a Divine revelation, cannot, conſiſtently with themſelves, make the law of Moſes, or any mark or prediction they can find reſpecting any particular ſet of men, as found in the ſacred writings, any reaſon that one claſs of men ſhould enſlave another. In that reſpect, all that they have to enquire into ſhould be, whether it be right, or wrong, that any part of the human ſpecies ſhould enſlave another; and when that is the caſe, the Africans, though not ſo learned, are juſt as wiſe as the Europeans; and when the matter is left to human wiſdom, they are both liable to err. But what the light of nature, and the dictates of reaſon, when

deſcendants of one of his ſons ſhould become the ſervants of ſervants to their brethren, the deſcendants of Shem and Japheth. This affords a grand pretence for the ſupporters of the African ſlavery to build a falſe notion upon, as it is found by hiſtory that Africa, in general, was peopled by the deſcendants of Ham; but they forget, that the prediction has already been fulfilled as far as it can go.

There can be no doubt, that there was a ſhameful miſconduct in Ham himſelf, by what is related of him; but the fault, according to the prediction and curſe, deſcended only to the families of the deſcendants of his youngeſt ſon, Canaan. The occaſion was, that Noah, his father, had drank wine, and (perhaps unawares) became inebriated by it, and fell aſleep in his tent. It ſeems that Ham was greatly deficient of that filial virtue as either becoming a father or a ſon, went into his father's tent, and, it may be ſuppoſed, in an undecent manner, he had ſuffered his own ſon, Canaan, ſo to meddle with, or uncover, his father, that he ſaw his nakedneſs; for which he did not check the audacious rudeneſs of Canaan, but went and told his brethren without in ridicule of his aged parent. This rude audacious behaviour of Canaan, and the obloquy of his father Ham, brought on him the curſe of his grandfather, Noah, but he bleſſed Shem and Japheth for their decent and filial virtues, and denounced, in the ſpirit of prophecy, that Canaan ſhould be their ſervant, and ſhould ſerve them.

It may be obſerved, that it is a great misfortune for children, when their parents are not endowed with that wiſdom and prudence which is neceſſary for the early initiation of their offſpring in

"all the face of the earth." Wherefore we may juſtly infer, as there are no inferior ſpecies, but all of one blood and of one nature, that there does not an inferiority ſubſiſt, or depend, on their colour, features or form, whereby ſome men make a pretence to enſlave others; and conſequently, as they have all one creator, one original, made of one blood, and all brethren deſcended from one father, it never could be lawful and juſt for any nation, or people, to oppreſs and enſlave another.

And again, as all the preſent inhabitants of the world ſprang from the family of Noah, and were then all of one complexion, there is no doubt, but the difference which we now find, took its riſe very rapidly after they became diſperſed and ſettled on the different parts of the globe. There ſeems to be a tendency to this, in many inſtances, among children of the ſame parents, having different colour of hair and features from one another. And God alone who eſtabliſhed the courſe of nature, can bring about and eſtabliſh what variety he pleaſes; and it is not in the power of man to make one hair white or black. But among the variety which it hath pleaſed God to eſtabliſh and cauſed to take place, we may meet with ſome analogy in nature, that as the bodies of men are tempered with a different degree to enable them to endure the reſpective climates of their habitations, ſo their colours vary, in ſome degree, in a regular gradation from the equator towards either of the poles. However, there are other incidental cauſes ariſing from time and place, which conſtitute the moſt diſtinguiſhing variety of colour, form appearance and features, as peculiar to the inhabitants of one tract of country,

ſome of them came to England, and ſettled about Cornwall, as far back as that time; ſo that, for any thing that can be known to the contrary, there may be ſome of the deſcendants of that wicked generation ſtill ſubſiſting among the ſlave-holders in the Weſt-Indies. For if the curſe of God ever reſted upon them, or upon any other men, the only viſible mark thereof was always upon thoſe who committed the moſt outrageous acts of violence and oppreſſion. But colour and complexion has nothing to do with that mark; every wicked man, and the enſlavers of others, bear the ſtamp of their own iniquity, and that mark which was ſet upon Cain.

Now, the deſcendants of the other three ſons of Ham, were not included under the curſe of his father, and as they diſperſed and ſettled on the different parts of the earth, they became alſo ſundry diſtinct and very formidable nations. Cuſh, the oldeſt, ſettled in the ſouth-weſt of Arabia, and his deſcendants were anciently known to the Hebrews by the name of Cuſhites, or Cuſhie; one of his ſons, Nimrod, founded the kingdom of Babylon, in Aſia; and the others made their deſcent ſouthward, by the Red Sea, and came over to Abyſſinia and Ethiopia, and, likely, diſperſed themſelves throughout all the ſouthern and interior parts of Africa; and as they lived moſtly under the torrid zone, or near the tropics, they became black, as being natural to the inhabitants of thoſe ſultry hot climates; and, in that caſe, their complexion bears the ſignification of the name of their original progenitor, Cuſh, as known by the Hebrews by that name, both on the eaſt and on the weſt, beyond the Red Sea; but the Greeks called them Ethiopians, or black faced people.

to, and by them applied wrongfully, is that mark or ſign which God gave to Cain, to aſſure him that he ſhould not be deſtroyed. Cain underſtood by the nature of the crime he had committed, that the law required death, or cutting off, as the puniſhment thereof. But God in his providence doth not always puniſh the wicked in this life according to their enormous crimes, (we are told, by a ſacred poet, that he ſaw the wicked flouriſhing like a green bay tree) though he generally marks them out by ſome ſignal token of his vengeance; and that is a ſure token of it, when men become long hardened in their wickedneſs. The denunciation that paſſed upon Cain was, that he ſhould be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, bearing the curſe and reproach of his iniquity; and the reſt of men were prohibited as much from meddling with him, or defiling their hands by him, as it naturally is, not to pull down the dead carcaſe of an atrocious criminal, hung up in chains by the laws of his country. But allow the mark ſet upon Cain to have conſiſted in a black ſkin, ſtill no concluſion can be drawn at all, that any of the black people are of that deſcent, as the whole poſterity of Cain were deſtroyed in the univerſal deluge.

Only Noah, a righteous and juſt man, who found grace in the ſight of God, and his three ſons, Japheth, Shem and Ham, and their wives, eight perſons, were preſerved from the univerſal deluge, in the ark which Noah was directed to build. The three ſons of Noah had each children born after the flood, from whom all the preſent world of men deſcended. But it came to paſs, in the days of Noah, that an interdiction, or curſe, took place in the family of Ham, and that the

any other. Nothing but ignorance, and the dreams of a viciated imagination, arifing from the general countenance given to the evil practice of wicked men, to ftrengthen their hands in wickedneſs, could ever make any perſon to fancy otherwiſe, or ever to think that the ſtealing, kidnapping, enſlaving, perſecuting or killing a black man, is in any way and manner leſs criminal, than the ſame evil treatment of any other man of another complexion.

But again, in anſwer to another part of the pretence which the favourers of ſlavery make uſe of in their defence, that ſlavery was an ancient cuſtom, and that it became the prevalent and univerſal practice of many different barbarous nations for ages: This muſt be granted; but not becauſe it was right, or any thing like right and equity. A lawful ſervitude was always neceſſary, and became contingent with the very nature of human ſociety. But when the laws of civilization were broken through, and when the rights and properties of others were invaded, that brought the oppreſſed into a kind of compulſive ſervitude, though often not compelled to it by thoſe whom they were obliged to ſerve. This aroſe from the different depredations and robberies which were committed upon one another; the helpleſs were obliged to ſeek protection from ſuch as could ſupport them, and to give unto them their ſervice, in order to preſerve themſelves from want, and to deliver them from the injury either of men or beaſts. For while civil ſociety continued in a rude ſtate, even among the eſtabliſhers of kingdoms, when they became powerful and proud, as they wanted to enlarge their territories, they drove and expelled others from their

in the paths of virtue and righteouſneſs. Ham was guilty of the offence as well as his ſon; he did not pity the weakneſs of his father, who was overcome with wine in that day wherein, it is likely, he had ſome ſolemn work to do. But the prediction and curſe reſted wholly upon the offſpring of Canaan, who ſettled in the land known by his name, in the weſt of Aſia, as is evident from the ſacred writings. The Canaanites became an exceeding wicked people, and were viſited with many calamities, according to the prediction of Noah, for their abominable wickedneſs and idolatry.

Chederluomer, a deſcendant of Shem, reduced the Canaanitiſh kingdoms to a tributary ſubjection; and ſome time after, upon their revolt, invaded and pillaged their country. Not long after Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, four kingdoms of the Canaanites were overthrown for their great wickedneſs, and utterly deſtroyed by fire and brimſtone from heaven. The Hebrews, chiefly under Moſes, Joſhua and Barak, as they were directed by God, cut off moſt of the other Canaanitiſh kingdoms, and reduced many of them to ſubjection and vaſſalage. Thoſe who ſettled in the north-weſt of Canaan, and formed the once flouriſhing ſtates of Tyre and Sidon, were by the Aſſyrians, the Chaldeans, and the Perſians ſucceſſively reduced to great miſery and bondage; but chiefly by the Greeks, the Romans, and the Saracens, and laſtly by the Turks, they were compleatly and totally ruined, and have no more ſince been a diſtinct people among the different nations. Many of the Canaanites who fled away in the Time of Joſhua, became mingled with the different nations, and ſome hiſtorians think that

in ancient times, in whatever degree ſlavery was admitted, and whatever hardſhips they were, in general, ſubjected to, it was not nearly ſo bad as the modern barbarous and cruel Weſt-India ſlavery.

Now, in reſpect to that kind of ſervitude which was admitted into the law of Moſes, that was not contrary to the natural liberties of men, but a ſtate of equity and juſtice, according as the nature and circumſtances of the times required. There was no more harm in entering into a covenant with another man as a bond-ſervant, than there is for two men to enter into partnerſhip the one with the other; and ſometimes the nature of the caſe may be, and their buſineſs require it, that the one may find money and live at a diſtance and eaſe, and the other manage the buſineſs for him: So a bond-ſervant was generally the ſteward in a man's houſe, and ſometimes his heir. There was no harm in buying a man who was in a ſtate of captivity and bondage by others, and keeping him in ſervitude till ſuch time as his purchaſe was redeemed by his labour and ſervice. And there could be no harm in paying a man's debts, and keeping him in ſervitude until ſuch time as an equitable agreement of compoſition was paid by him. And ſo, in general, whether they had been bought or ſold in order to pay their juſt debts when they became poor, or were bought from ſuch as held them in an unlawful captivity, the ſtate of bondage which they and their children fell under, among the Iſraelites, was into that of a vaſſalage ſtate, which rather might be termed a deliverance from debt and captivity, than a ſtate of ſlavery. In that vaſſalage ſtate which they were reduced to, they had a tax of ſome ſervice to pay,

people. The Egyptians and Philiſtines were the deſcendants of Mizraim, and the country which they inhabited was called the land of Mizraim, and Africa, in general, was anciently called the whole land of Ham. Phut, another of his ſons, alſo ſettled on the weſt of Egypt, and as the youngeſt were obliged to emigrate fartheſt, afterwards diſperſed themſelves chiefly up the ſouth of the Mediterranean ſea, towards Lybia and Mauritania, and might early mingle with ſome of the Cuſhites on the more ſouthern, and, chiefly, on the weſtern parts of Africa. But all theſe might be followed by ſome other families and tribes from Aſia; and ſome think that Africa got its name from the King of Lybia marrying a daughter of Aphra, one of the deſcendants of Abraham, by Keturah.

But it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the moſt part of the black people in Africa, are the deſcendants of the Cuſhites, towards the eaſt, the ſouth, and interior parts, and chiefly of the Phutians towards the weſt; and the various revolutions and changes which have happened among them have rather been local than univerſal; ſo that whoever their original progenitors were, as deſcending from one generation to another, in a long continuance, it becomes natural for the inhabitants of that tract of country to be a dark black, in general. The learned and thinking part of men, who can refer to hiſtory, muſt know, that nothing with reſpect to colour, nor any mark or curſe from any original prediction, can in anywiſe be more particularly aſcribed to the Africans than to any other people of the human ſpecies, ſo as to afford any pretence why they ſhould be more evil treated, perſecuted and enſlaved, than

heads, as it is the caſe in the Weſt-Indies for any that can find a ſtrayed ſlave; and he who can bring ſuch a head warm reeking with his blood, as a token that he had murdered him—inhuman and ſhocking to think!—he is paid for it; and, cruel and dreadful as it is, that law is ſtill in force in ſome of the Britiſh colonies.

But the Canaanites, although they were predicted to be reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude, and bondage to that poor and menial employment, fared better than the Weſt-India ſlaves; for when they were brought into that ſtate of ſervitude, they were often employed in an honourable ſervice. The Nethenims, and others, were to aſſiſt in the ſacred ſolemnities and worſhip of God at the Temple of Jeruſalem. They had the ſame laws and immunities reſpecting the ſolemn days and ſabbaths, as their maſters the Iſraelites, and they were to keep and obſerve them. But they were not ſuffered, much leſs required, to labour in their own ſpots of uſeful ground on the days of ſacred reſt from worldly employment; and that, if they did not improve the culture of it, in theſe times and ſeaſons, they might otherwiſe periſh for hunger and want; as it is the caſe of the Weſt-India ſlaves, by their inhuman, infidel, hard-hearted maſters. And, therefore, this may be juſtly ſaid, that whatever ſervitude that was, or by whatever name it may be called, that the ſervice which was required by the people of Iſrael in old time, was of a far milder nature, than that which became the prevalent practice of other different and barbarous nations; and, if compared with modern ſlavery, it might be called liberty, equity, and felicity, in reſpect to that abominable, mean, beaſtly, cruel, bloody ſlavery carried

on

their peaceable habitations, who were not ſo powerful as themſelves. This made thoſe who were robbed of their ſubſtance, and drove from the place of their abode, make their eſcape to ſuch as could and would help them; but when ſuch a relief could not be found, they were obliged to ſubmit to the yoke of their oppreſſors, who, in many caſes, would not yield them any protection upon any terms. Wherefore, when their lives were in danger otherwiſe, and they could not find any help, they were obliged to ſell themſelves for bond ſervants to ſuch as would buy them, when they could not get a ſervice that was better. But as ſoon as buyers could be found, robbers began their traffic to enſnare others, and ſuch as fell into their hands were carried captive by them, and were obliged to ſubmit to their being ſold by them into the hands of other robbers, for there are few buyers of men, who intend thereby to make them free, and ſuch as they buy are generally ſubjected to hard labour and bondage. Therefore at all times, while a man is a ſlave, he is ſtill in captivity, and under the juriſdiction of robbers; and every man who keeps a ſlave, is a robber, whenever he compels him to his ſervice without giving him a juſt reward. The barely ſupplying his ſlave with ſome neceſſary things, to keep him in life, is no reward at all, that is only for his own ſake and benefit; and the very nature of compulſion and taking away the liberty of others, as well as their property, is robbery; and that kind of ſervice which ſubjects men to a ſtate of ſlavery, muſt at all times, and in every circumſtance, be a barbarous, inhuman and unjuſt dealing with our fellow men. A voluntary ſervice, and ſlavery, are quite different things; but

in

vants; and that the ſtate of bondage which the law denounces and deſcribes, was thereby ſo intended to point out ſomething neceſſary, as well as ſimilar to all the other ritual and ceremonial ſervices; and that the whole is ſet forth in ſuch a manner, as containing the very eſſence and foundation of the Chriſtian religion. And, moreover, that it muſt appear evident to any Chriſtian believer, that it was neceſſary that all theſe things ſhould take place, and as the moſt beautiful fabric of Divine goodneſs, that in all their variety, and in all their forms, they ſhould ſtand recorded under the ſanction of the Divine law.

And this muſt be obſerved, that it hath ſo pleaſed the Almighty Creator, to eſtabliſh all the variety of things in nature, different complexions and other circumſtances among men, and to record the various tranſactions of his own providence, with all the ceremonial œconomy written in the books of Moſes, as more particularly reſpecting and enjoined to the Iſraelitiſh nation and people, for the uſe of ſacred language, in order to convey wiſdom to the fallen apoſtate human race. Wherefore, all the various things eſtabliſhed, admitted and recorded, whether natural, moral, typical or ceremonial, with all the various things in nature referred to, were ſo ordered and admitted, as figures, types and emblems, and other ſymbolical repreſentations, to bring forward, uſher in, hold forth and illuſtrate that moſt amazing tranſaction, and the things concerning it, of all things the moſt wonderful that ever could take place amongſt the univerſe of intelligent beings; as in that, and the things concerning it, of the ſalvation of apoſtate men, and the wonderful benignity of their Almighty Redeemer.

Whoever

pay, which might only be reckoned equivalent to a poor man in England paying rent for his cottage. In this fair land of liberty, there are many thouſands of the inhabitants who have no right to ſo much land as an inch of ground to ſet their foot upon, ſo as to take up their reſidence upon it, without paying a lawful and reaſonable vaſſalage of rent for it—and yet the whole community is free from ſlavery. And ſo, likewiſe, thoſe who were reduced to a ſtate of ſervitude, or vaſſalage, in the land of Iſrael, were not negociable like chattels and goods; nor could they be diſpoſed of like cattle and beaſts of burden, or ever transferred or diſpoſed of without their own conſent; and perhaps not one man in all the land of Iſrael would buy another man, unleſs that man was willing to ſerve him. And when any man had gotten ſuch a ſervant, as he had entered into a covenant of agreement with, as a bond-ſervant, if the man liked his maſter and his ſervice, he could not oblige him to go away; and it ſometimes happened, that they refuſed to go out free when the year of jubilee came. But even that ſtate of ſervitude which the Canaanites were reduced to, among thoſe who ſurvived the general overthrow of their country, was nothing worſe, in many reſpects, than that of poor labouring people in any free country. Their being made hewers of wood and drawers of water, were laborious employments; but they were paid for it in ſuch a manner as the nature of their ſervice required, and were ſupplied with abundance of ſuch neceſſaries of life as they and their families had need of; and they were at liberty, if they choſe, to go away, there was no reſtriction laid on them. They were not hunted after, and a reward offered for their heads,

effected by them, as it is for a black man to change the colour of his ſkin, or the leopard to alter his ſpots. But theſe differences of a natural variety amongſt the things themſelves, is in every reſpect equally innocent, and what they cannot alter or change, was made to be ſo, and in the moſt eligible and primary deſign, were ſo intended for the very purpoſes of inſtructive language to men. And by theſe extreme differences of colour, it was intended to point out and ſhew to the white man, that there is a ſinful blackneſs in his own nature, which he can no more change, than the external blackneſs which he ſees in another can be rendered otherwiſe; and it likewiſe holds out to the black man, that the ſinful blackneſs of his own nature is ſuch, that he can no more alter, than the outward appearance of his colour can be brought to that of another. And this is imported by it, that there is an inherent evil in every man, contrary to that which is good; and that all men are like Ethiopians (even God's elect) in a ſtate of nature and unregeneracy, they are black with original ſin, and ſpotted with actual tranſgreſſion, which they cannot reverſe. But to this truth, aſſerted of blackneſs, I muſt add another glorious one. All thanks and eternal praiſe be to God! His infinite wiſdom and goodneſs has found out a way of renovation, and has opened a fountain through the blood of Jeſus, for ſin and for uncleanneſs, wherein all the ſtains and blackeſt dyes of ſin and polution can be waſhed away for ever, and the darkeſt ſinner be made to ſhine as the brighteſt angel in heaven. And for that end and purpoſe, God alone has appointed all the channels of conveyance of the everlaſting Goſpel for theſe healing and purifying ſtreams of the

water

on by the inhuman, barbarous Europeans, againſt the poor unfortunate Black Africans.

But again, this may be averred, that the ſervitude which took place under the ſanction of the divine law, in the time of Moſes, and what was enjoined as the civil and religious polity of the people of Iſrael, was in nothing contrary to the natural rights and common liberties of men, though it had an appearance as ſuch for great and wiſe ends. The Divine Law Giver, in his good providence, for great and wiſe purpoſes intended by it, has always admitted into the world riches and poverty, proſperity and adverſity, high and low, rich and poor; and in ſuch manner, as in all their variety and difference, mutation and change, there is nothing ſet forth in the written law, by Moſes, contrary, unbecoming, or inconſiſtent with that goodneſs of himſelf, as the wiſe and righteous Governor of the Univerſe. Thoſe things admitted into the law, that had a ſeeming appearance contrary to the natural liberties of men, were only ſo admitted for a local time, to point out, and to eſtabliſh, and to give inſtruction thereby, in an analogous alluſion to other things.

And therefore, ſo far as I have been able to conſult the law written by Moſes, concerning that kind of ſervitude admitted by it, I can find nothing imported thereby, in the leaſt degree, to warrant the modern practice of ſlavery. But, on the contrary, and what was principally intended thereby, and in the moſt particular manner, as reſpecting Chriſtians, that it contains the ſtrongeſt prohibition againſt it. And every Chriſtian man, that can read his Bible, may find that which is of the greateſt importance for himſelf to know, implied even under the very inſtitution of bond-ſervants;

ſion which men have committed upon one another, as well as that kind of bondage and ſervitude which was admitted under the ſanction of the Divine law. But there is nothing ſet forth in the law as a rule, or any thing recorded therein that can ſtand as a precedent, or make it lawful, for men to practice ſlavery; nor can any laws in favour of ſlavery be deduced from thence, for to enſlave men, be otherwiſe, than as unwarrantble, as it would be unneceſſary and wrong, to order and command the ſacrifices of beaſts to be ſtill continued. Now the great thing imported by it, and what is chiefly to be deduced from it in this reſpect, is, that ſo far as the law concerning bond-ſervants, and that eſtabliſhment of ſervitude, as admitted in the Moſaical inſtitution, was ſet forth, it was thereby intended to prefigure and point out, that ſpiritual ſubjection and bondage to ſin, that all mankind, by their original transgreſſion, were fallen into. All men in their fallen depraved ſtate, being under a ſpirit of bondage, ſunk into a nature of brutiſh carnality, and by the luſts thereof, they are carried captive and enſlaved; and the conſequence is, that they are ſold under ſin and in bondage to iniquity, and carried captive by the devil at his will. This being the caſe, the thing proves itſelf; for if there had been no evil and ſin amongſt men, there never would have been any kind of bondage, ſlavery and oppreſſion found amongſt them; and if there was none of theſe things to be found, the great cauſe of it could not, in the preſent ſituation of men, be pointed out to them in that eligible manner as it is. Wherefore it was neceſſary that ſomething of that bondage and ſervitude ſhould be admitted into the ritual law for a figurative uſe, which, in

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Whoever will give a ſerious and unprejudiced attention to the various things alluded to in the language of ſacred writ, muſt ſee reaſon to believe that they imply a purpoſe and deſign far more glorious and important, than what ſeems generally to be underſtood by them; and to point to objects and events far more extenſive and intereſting, than what is generally aſcribed to them. But as the grand eligibility and importance of thoſe things, implied and pointed out in ſacred writ, and the right underſtanding thereof, belongs to the ſublime ſcience of metaphyſics and theology to enforce, illuſtrate and explain, I ſhall only ſelect a few inſtances, which I think have a relation to my ſubject in hand.

Among other things it may be conſidered, that the different colours and complexions among men were intended for another purpoſe and deſign, than that of being only eligible in the variety of the ſcale of nature. And, accordingly, had it been otherwiſe, and if there had never been any black people among the children of men, nor any ſpotted leopards among the beaſts of the earth, ſuch an inſtructive queſtion, by the prophet, could not have been propoſed, as this, *Can the Ethiopian change his ſkin, or the leopard his ſpots? Then, may ye alſo do good, that are accuſtomed to do evil.* Jer. xiii. 23. The inſtruction intended by this is evident, that it was a convincing and forcible argument to ſhew, that none among the fallen and apoſtate race of men, can by any effort of their own, change their nature from the blackneſs and guilt of the ſable dye of ſin and polution, or alter their way accuſtomed to do evil, from the variegated ſpots of their iniquity; and that ſuch a change is as impoſſible to be totally and radically

effected

blem that there was any ſpiritual reſtoration and deliverance afforded to us. By that which is evil in captivity and ſlavery among men, we are thereby ſo repreſented to be under a like ſubjection to ſin; but by what is inſtituted in the law by Moſes, in that reſpect we are thereby repreſented as Iſrael to have dominion over ſin, and to rule over and keep in ſubjection all our ſpiritual enemies. And, therefore, any thing which had a ſeeming appearance in favour of ſlavery, ſo far as it was admitted into the law, was to ſhew that it was not natural and innocent, like that of different colours among men, but as neceſſary to be made an emblem of what was intended by it, and, conſequently, as it ſtands enjoined among other typical repreſentations, was to ſhew that every thing of any evil appearance of it, was to be removed, and to end with the other typical and ceremonial injunctions, when the time of that diſpenſation was over. This muſt appear evident to all Chriſtian believers; and ſince therefore all theſe things are fulfilled in the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, there is now nothing remaining in the law for a rule of practice to men, but the ever abiding obligations, and ever binding injunctions of moral rectitude, juſtice, equity and righteouſneſs. All the other things in the Divine law, are for ſpiritual uſes and ſimilitudes, for giving inſtruction to the wiſe, and underſtanding to the upright in heart, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furniſhed unto all good works.

Among other things alſo, the wars of the Iſraelites, and the extirpation of the Canaanites, and other circumſtances as recorded in ſacred hiſtory, were intended to give inſtruction to men, but

water of life to run in, and to bring life and salvation, with light and gladneſs to men; but he denounces woe to thoſe who do not receive it themſelves, but hinder and debar others who would, from coming to thoſe ſalutary ſtreams for life: Yet not alone confined to theſe, nor hindered in his purpoſe by any oppoſers, He, who can open the eyes of the blind, and make the deaf to hear, can open ſtreams in the deſart, and make his benignity to flow, and his ſalvation to viſit, even the meaneſt and moſt ignorant man, in the darkeſt ſhades of nature, as well as the moſt learned on the earth; and he uſually carries on his own gracious work of quickening and redeeming grace, in a ſecret, ſovereign manner. To this I muſt again obſerve, and what I chiefly intended by this ſimilitude, that the external blackneſs of the Ethiopians, is as innocent and natural, as ſpots in the leopards; and that the difference of colour and complexion, which in hath pleaſed God to appoint among men, are no more unbecoming unto either of them, than the different ſhades of the rainbow are unſeemly to the whole, or unbecoming to any part of that apparent arch. It does not alter the nature and quality of a man, whether he wears a black or a white coat, whether he puts it on or ſtrips it off, he is ſtill the ſame man. And ſo likewiſe, when a man comes to die, it makes no difference whether he was black or white, whether he was male or female, whether he was great or ſmall, or whether he was old or young; none of theſe differences alter the eſſentiality of the man, any more than he had wore a black or a white coat and thrown it off for ever.

Another form of inſtruction for the ſame purpoſe, may be taken from the ſlavery and oppreſ-

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they have need always to be upon their guard, and to have all their armour on. They are *commanded to caſt off the works of darkneſs, and to put on the whole armour of righteouſneſs and light; and that they may be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.* For it is required *that they ſhould be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the devil, the powers of the rulers of the darkneſs of this world, againſt ſpiritual wickedneſs in high places.* And as their foes are *mighty and tall like the Anakims, and fenced up to heaven,* they muſt be mighty warriors, *men of renown, valiant for the truth, ſtrong in the faith, fighting the Lord's battles, and overcoming all their enemies, through the dear might of the Great Captain of their ſalvation.* In this warfare, ſhould they meet with ſome mighty *Agag,* ſome ſtrong corruption, or beſetting ſin, they are commanded *to cut it down,* and with the ſword of Samuel *to hew it to pieces before the Lord.* This, in its literal ſenſe, may ſeem harſh, as if Samuel had been cruel; and ſo will our ſins, and other ſinners inſinuate, and tell us not to mind ſuch things as the perfect law of God requires. But if we conſider that the Lord God who breathed into man the breath of life, can ſuſpend and take it away when he pleaſeth, and that there is not a moment we have to exiſt, wherein that life may not be ſuſpended before the next: it was therefore of an indifferent matter for that man Agag, when the Lord, who hath the breath and life of every man in his hand, had appointed him at that time to die, for his great wickedneſs and the murders committed by him, whether he was ſlain by Samuel or any other means. But what Samuel, the ſervant of the Lord, did in that inſtance, was in obedience to his voice, and in itſelf

all other reſpects and circumſtances, was, in itſelf, contrary to the whole tenure of the law, and naturally in itſelf unlawful for men to practice.

Nothing but heavenly wiſdom, and heavenly grace, can teach men to underſtand. The moſt deplorable of all things is, that the dreadful ſituation of our univerſalde praved ſtate, which all mankind lyeth under, is ſuch, that thoſe who are not redeemed in time, muſt for ever continue to be the ſubjects of eternal bondage and miſery. Bleſſed be God! he hath appointed and ſet up a deliverance, and the Saviour of Men is an Almighty Redeemer. When God, the Almighty Redeemer and Saviour of his people, brought his Iſrael out of Egypt and temporal bondage, it was intended and deſigned thereby, to ſet up an emblematical repreſentation of their deliverance from the power and captivity of ſin, and from the dominion of that evil and malignant ſpirit, who had with exquiſite ſubtilty and guile at firſt ſeduced the original progenitors of mankind. And when they were brought to the promiſed land, and had gotten deliverance, and ſubdued their enemies under them, they were to reign over them; and their laws reſpecting bond-ſervants, and other things of that nature, were to denote, that they were to keep under and in ſubjection the whole body of their evil affections and luſts. This is ſo declared by the Apoſtle, that the law is ſpiritual, and intended for ſpiritual uſes. The general ſtate of ſlavery which took place in the world, among other enormous crimes of wicked men might have ſerved for an emblem and ſimilitude of our ſpiritual bondage and ſlavery to ſin; but, unleſs it had been admitted into the ſpiritual and divine law, it could not have ſtood and become an em-

none of all these grand pretensions, as generally made use of by the favourers of slavery, to encourage and embolden them, in that iniquitous traffic, can have any foundation or shadow of truth to support them; and that there is nothing in nature, reason, and scripture can be found, in any manner or way, to warrant the enslaving of black people more than others.

But I am aware that some of these arguments will weigh nothing against such men as do not believe the scriptures themselves, nor care to understand; but let them be aware not to make use of these things against us which they do not believe, or whatever pretence they may have for committing violence against us. Any property taken away from others, whether by stealth, fraud, or violence, must be wrong; but to take away men themselves, and keep them in slavery, must be worse. *Skin for skin, all that a man hath would he give for his life*; and would rather lose his property to any amount whatever, than to have his liberty taken away, and be kept as a slave. It must be an inconceivable fallacy to think otherwise: none but the inconsiderate, most obdurate and stubborn, could ever think that it was right to enslave others. *But the way of the wicked is brutish: his own iniquity shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins: he shall die without instruction, and in the greatness of his folly he shall go astray.*

Among the various species of men that commit rapine, and violence, and murders, and theft, upon their fellow-creatures, like the ravenous beasts of the night, prowling for their prey, there are also those that set out their heads in the open day, opposing all the obligations of civilization among

but have often been perverted to the moſt flagrant abuſe, and even inverted to the moſt notorious purpoſes, for men to embolden themſelves to commit wickedneſs. Every poſſeſſion that men enjoy upon earth are the gifts of God, and he who gives them, may either take them away again from men, or he may take men away themſelves from the earth, as it pleaſeth him. But who dare, even with Lucifer, the malignant devourer of the world, think to imitate the moſt High? The extirpation of the Canaanites out of their land, was ſo ordered, not only to puniſh them for their idolatry and abominable wickedneſs, but alſo to ſhew forth the honour of his power, and the ſovereignty of him who is the only potent one that reigneth over the nations; that all men at that time might learn to fear and know him who is Jehovah; and ever ſince that it might continue a ſtanding memorial of him, and a ſtandard of honor unto him who doth according to his will among the armies of heaven, and whatever pleaſeth him with the inhabitants of the earth. And, in general, theſe tranſactions ſtand recorded for an emblematical uſe and ſimilitude, in the ſpiritual warfare of every true Iſraelite throughout all the ages of time. Every real believer and valiant champion in the knowledge and faith of their Omnipotent Saviour and Almighty Deliverer, as the very nature of Chriſtianity requires and enjoins, knoweth the uſe of theſe things, *and they know how to endure hardneſs as good ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt.* They have many battles to fight with their unbelief, the perverſeneſs of their nature, evil tempers and beſetting ſins, theſe Canaanites which ſtill dwell in their land. They are ſo ſurrounded with adverſaries, that

or any thiug like it, can be repeated again, without tranſgreſſing and breaking through every other injunction, precept, and command of the juſt and tremendous law of God.

The conſequence of their apoſtacy from God, and diſobedience to his law, became a ſnare to thoſe men in times of old, who departed from it; and becauſe of their diſobedience and wickedneſs, the ſeveral nations, which went aſtray after their own abominations, were viſited with many dreadful calamities and judgments. But to ſet up the ways of the wicked for an example, and to make the laws reſpecting their ſuppreſſion, and the judgments that were inflicted upon them for their iniquity, and even the written word of God, and the tranſactions of his providence, to be reverſed and become and precedents and pretences for men to commit depredations and extirpations, and for enſlaving and negociating or merchandizing the human ſpecies, muſt be horrible wickedneſs indeed, and ſinning with a high hand. And it cannot be thought otherwiſe, but that the abandoned aggreſſors, among the learned nations will, in due time, as the juſt reward of their aggravated iniquity, be viſited with ſome more dreadful and tremendous judgments of the righteous vengeance of God, than what even befel to the Canaanites of old.

And it may be conſidered further, that to draw any inferences in favour of extirpation, ſlavery, and negociation of men, from the written word of God, or from any thing elſe in the hiſtory and cuſtoms of different nations, as a precedent to embolden wicked men in their wickedneſs; cannot be more wicked, ridiculous, and abſurd to ſhew any favour to theſe inſidious negociators

and

ſelf a righteous deed, and a juſt judgment upon Agag. And the matter imported by it, was alſo intended to ſhew, that all our Amalekite ſins, and even the chief and darling of them, the avaricious and covetous Agags, ſhould be cut off for ever. But if we ſpare them, and leave them to remain alive in ſtubborn diſobedience to the law and commandments of God, we ſhould in that caſe, be like Saul, cut off ourſelves from the kingdom of his grace. According to this view, it may ſuffice to ſhew (and what infinite wiſdom intended, no doubt,) that a wiſe and righteous uſe may be made of thoſe very things, which otherwiſe are generally perverted to wrong purpoſes.

And now, as to theſe few inſtances which I have collected from that ſacred hypotheſis, whereby it is ſhewn, that other things are implied and to be underſtood by the various incidents as recorded in ſacred writ, with a variety of other things in nature, bearing an analogous alluſion to things of the greateſt importance for every Chriſtian man to know and underſtand; and that the whole of the ritual law, though theſe things themſelves are not to be again repeated, is of that nature and uſe as never to be forgot. And therefore to ſuppoſe, or for any Chriſtians to ſay, that they have nothing to do with thoſe things now in the right uſe thereof, and what was intended and imported thereby reſpecting themſelves, would be equally as abſurd as to hear them ſpeaking in the language of devils; and they might as well ſay as they did, when ſpeaking out of the demoniac, that they have nothing to do with Chriſt.

Having thus endeavoured to ſhew, and what, I think, muſt appear evident and obvious, that

ſors of men, have only to become more abandoned in wickedneſs than theſe ſuppoſed wretches could be; and to paſs on in the moſt abominable bye paths of wickedneſs, and make every thing that they can ſee an example for their brutal barbarity; and whether it be a man hanged for his crimes, or an innocent man for the wretched wickedneſs of others; right or wrong it makes no difference to them, if they can only ſatisfy their own wretched and brutal avarice. Whether it be the Iſraelites ſubjecting the Canaanites for their crimes, or the Canaanites ſubjecting the Iſraelites, to gratify their own wickedneſs, it makes no difference to them. When they ſee ſome baſe wretches like themſelves enſnaring, enſlaving, oppreſſing, whipping, ſtarving with hunger, and cruelly torturing and murdering ſome of the poor helpleſs part of mankind, they would think no harm in it, they would do the ſame. Perhaps the Greeks and Romans, and other crowds of barbarous nations have done ſo before; they can make that a precedent, and think no harm in it, they would ſtill do the ſame, and worſe than any barbarous nations ever did before: and if they look backwards and forwards they can find no better precedent, ancient or modern, than that which is wicked, mean, brutiſh, and baſe. To practiſe ſuch abominable parallels of wickedneſs of enſnaring, negociating, and enſlaving men, is the ſcandal and ſhame of mankind; And what muſt we think of their crimes? Let the groans and cries of the murdered, and the cruel ſlavery of the Africans tell!

They that can ſtand and look on and behold no evil in the infamous traffic of ſlavery muſt be ſunk

among men, and breaking through all the laws of juſtice and equity to them, and making even the very things which are analogous to the obligations, which ought to warn and prohibit them, a pretence for their iniquity and injuſtice. Such are the inſidious merchants and pirates that gladen their oars with the carnage and captivity of men, and the vile negociators and enſlavers of the human ſpecies. The prohibitions againſt them are ſo ſtrong, that, in order to break through and to commit the moſt notorious and flagrant crimes with impunity, they are obliged to oil their poiſonous pretences with various perverſions of ſundry tranſactions of things even in ſacred writ, that the acrimonious points of their arſenic may be ſwallowed down the better, and the evil effects of their crimes appear the leſs. In this reſpect, inſtead of *the ſacred hiſtory of the Iſraelitiſh nation being made profitable to them, for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for inſtruction in righteouſneſs*, as it was intended, *and given to men* for that purpoſe; but, inſtead thereof, the wars of the Iſraelites, the extirpation and ſubjection of the Canaanites, and other tranſactions of that kind, are generally made uſe of by wicked men as precedents and pretences to encourage and embolden themſelves to commit cruelty and ſlavery on their fellow-creatures: and the mercileſs depredators, negociators, and enſlavers of men, revert to the very ritual law of Moſes as a precedent for their barbarity, cruelty, and injuſtice; which law, though devoid of any iniquity, as bearing a parallel alluſion to other things ſignified thereby, can afford no precedent for their evil way, in any ſhape or view: what was intended by it is fulfilled, and in no reſpect,

or

into that evil way of brutiſh ſtupidity as well as wickedneſs, that they can behold nothing of moral rectitude and equity among men but in the gloomy darkneſs of their own hemiſphere, like the owls and night-hawks, who can ſee nothing but miſt and darkneſs in the meridian blaze of day. When men forſake the paths of virtue, righteouſneſs, juſtice, and mercy, and become vitiated in any evil way, all their pretended virtues, ſenſibility, and prudence among men, however high they may ſhine in their own, and of others eſtimation, will only appear to be but ſpecious villainy at laſt. That virtue which will ever do men any good in the end, is as far from that which ſome men call ſuch, as the gaudy appearance of a glow-worm in the dark is to the intrinſic value and luſtre of a diamond: for if a man hath not love in his heart to his fellow-creatures, with a generous philanthropy diffuſed throughout his whole ſoul, all his other virtues are not worth a ſtraw.

The whole law of God is founded upon love, and the two grand branches of it are theſe: *Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy ſoul; and thou ſhalt love thy neighbour as thyſelf.* And ſo it was when man was firſt created and made: they were created male and female, and pronounced to be in the image of God, and, as his repreſentative, to have dominion over the lower creation: and their Maker, who is love, and the intellectual Father of Spirits, bleſſed them, and commanded them to ariſe in a bond of union of nature and of blood, each being a brother and a ſiſter together, and each the lover and the loved of one another. But when they were envied and invaded by the grand enſlaver

and enſlavers, than it would be to ſtand and laugh, and look on with a brutal and ſavage impunity, at beholding the following ſuppoſition tranſacted. Suppoſe two or three half-witted fooliſh fellows happened to come paſt a crowd of people, gazing at one which they had hung up by the neck on a tree, as a victim ſuffering for breaking the laws of his country; and ſuppoſe theſe fooliſh fellows went on a little way in a bye path, and found ſome innocent perſon, not ſuſpecting any harm till taken hold of by them, and could not deliver himſelf from them, and juſt becauſe they had ſeen among the crowd of people which they came paſt, that there had been a man hung by the neck, they took it into their fooliſh wicked heads to hang up the poor innocent man on the next tree, and juſt did as they had ſeen others do, to pleaſe their own fancy and baſe fooliſhneſs, to ſee how he would ſwing. Now if any of the other people happened to come up to them, and ſaw what they had done, would they heſitate a moment to determine between themſelves and theſe fooliſh raſcals which had done wickedneſs? Surely not; they would immediately take hold of ſuch ſtupid wicked wretches, if it was in their power, and for their brutiſh fooliſhneſs, have them chained in a Bedlam, or hung on a gibbet. But what would theſe baſe fooliſh wretches ſay for themſelves? That they ſaw others do ſo, and they thought there had been no harm in it, and they only did as they had ſeen the crowd of people do before. A poor fooliſh, baſe, raſcally excuſe indeed! But not a better excuſe than this, can the brutiſh enſlavers and negociators of men find in all the annals of hiſtory. The enſnarers, negociators, and oppreſ-

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compulſory ſervice, is an injury and robbery contrary to all law, civilization, reaſon, juſtice, equity, and humanity: therefore when men break through the laws of God, and the rules of civilization among men, and go forth to ſteal, to rob, to plunder, to oppreſs and to enſlave, and to deſtroy their fellow-creatures, the laws of God and man require that they ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and deprived of their liberty, or perhaps their lives.

But juſtice and equity does not always reſide among men, even where ſome conſiderable degree of civilization is maintained; if it had, that moſt infamous reſervoir of public and abandoned merchandizers and enſlavers of men would not have been ſuffered ſo long, nor the poor unfortunate Africans, that never would have croſſed the Atlantic to rob them, would not have become their prey. But it is juſt as great and as heinous a tranſgreſſion of the law of God to ſteal, kidnap, buy, ſell, and enſlave any one of the Africans, as it would be to enſnare any other man in the ſame manner, let him be who he will. And ſuppoſe that ſome of the African pirates had been as dextrous as the Europeans, and that they had made excurſions on the coaſt of Great-Britain or elſewhere, and though even aſſiſted by ſome of yonr own inſiduous neighbours, for there may be ſome men even among you vile enough to do ſuch a thing if they could get money by it; and that they ſhould carry off your ſons and your daughters, and your wives and friends, to a perpetual and barbarous ſlavery, you would certainly think that thoſe African pirates were juſtly deſerving of any puniſhment that could be put upon them. But the European pirates and merchandizers

ſunk to a wonderful degree of inſenſibility; but ſurely thoſe that can delight in that evil way for their gain, and be pleaſed with the wickedneſs of the wicked, and ſee no harm in ſubjecting their fellow-creatures to ſlavery, and keeping them in a ſtate of bondage and ſubjection as a brute, muſt be wretchedly brutiſh indeed. But ſo bewitched are the general part of mankind with ſome ſottiſh or ſelfiſh principle, that they care nothing about what is right or wrong, any farther than their own intereſt leads them to; and when avarice leads them on they can plead a thouſand excuſes for doing wrong, or letting others do wickedly, ſo as they have any advantage by it, to their own gratification and uſe. That ſottiſh and ſelfiſh principle, without concern and diſcernment among men is ſuch, that if they can only proſper themſelves, they care nothing about the miſerable ſituation of others: and hence it is, that even thoſe who are elevated to high rank of power and affluence, and as becoming their eminent ſtations, have opportunity of extending their views afar, yet they can ſhut their eyes at this enormous evil of the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies; and, contrary to all the boaſted accompliſhments, and fine virtues of the civilized and enlightened nations, they can ſit ſtill and let the torrent of robbery, ſlavery, and oppreſſion roll on.

There is a way which ſeemeth good unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death. Should the enſlavers of men think to juſtify themſelves in their evil way, or that it can in any poſſible way be right for them to ſubject others to ſlavery; it is but charitable to evince and declare unto them, that they are thoſe who have gone into

be doing as great an injury to them, without any reparation or benefit to ourſelves. For what man can reſtore an eye that he may have deprived another of, and if even a double puniſhment was to paſs upon him, and that he was to loſe both his eyes for the crime, that would make no reparation to the other man whom he had deprived of one eye. And ſo, likewiſe, when a man is carried captive and enſlaved, and maimed and cruelly treated, that would make no adequate reparation and reſtitution for the injuries he had received, if he was even to get the perſon who had enſnared him to be taken captive and treated in the ſame manner. What he is to ſeek after is a deliverance and protection for himſelf, and not a revenge upon others. Wherefore the honeſt and upright, like the juſt Bethlehem Joſeph, cannot think of doing evil, nor require an equal retaliation for ſuch injuries done to them, ſo as to revenge themſelves upon others, for that which would do them no manner of good, Such vengeance belongeth unto the Lord, and he will render vengeance and recompence to his enemies and the violaters of his law.

But thus ſaith the law of God: *If a man be found ſtealing any of his neighbours, or he that ſtealeth a man (let him be who he will) and ſelleth him, or that maketh merchandize of him, or if he be found in his hand, then that thief ſhall die.* However, in all modern ſlavery among Chriſtians, who ought to know this law, they have not had any regard to it. Surely if any law among them admits of death as a puniſhment for robbing or defrauding others of their money or goods, it ought to be double death, if it was poſſible, when a man is robbed of himſelf, and ſold into captivity and cruel

enſlaver of men, all their jarring incoherency aroſe, and thoſe who adhered to their pernicious uſurper ſoon became envious, hateful, and hating one another. And thoſe who go on to injure, enſnare, oppreſs, and enſlave their fellow-creatures, manifeſt their hatred to men, and maintain their own infamous dignity and vaſſalage, as the ſervants of ſin and the devil: but the man that has any honour as a man ſcorns their ignominious dignity: the noble philanthropiſt looks up to his God and Father as his only ſovereign; and he looks around on his fellow men as his brethren and friends; and in every ſituation and caſe, however mean and contemptible they may ſeem, he endeavours to do them good: and ſhould he meet with one in the deſert, whom he never ſaw before, he would hail him my brother! my ſiſter! my friend! how fares it with thee? And if he can do any of them any good it would gladden every nerve of his ſoul.

But as there is but *one law and one manner* preſcribed univerſally for all mankind, *for you, and for the ſtranger that ſojourneth with you*, and whereſoever they may be ſcattered throughout the face of the whole earth, the difference of ſuperiority and inferiority which are found ſubſiſting amongſt them is no way incompatible with the univerſal law of love, honor, righteouſneſs, and equity; ſo that a free, voluntary, and ſociable ſervitude, which is the very baſis of human ſociety, either civil or religious, whereby we ſerve one another that we may be ſerved, or do good that good may be done unto us, is in all things requiſite and agreeable to all law and juſtice. But the taking away the natural liberties of men, and compelling them to any involuntary ſlavery, or compulſory

meet with ſome mitigation in the puniſhment, becauſe of the forbearance of God, and the unrighteouſneſs of men, it cannot thereby be thought the leſs criminal in itſelf. But it alſo ſuppoſes, where ſtrict ſeverities are made uſe of in the laws of civilization, that the doers of the law, and the judges of it, ought to be very righteous themſelves. And with regard to that law of menſtealers, merchandizers, and of ſlaves found in their hands, that whatever mitigation and forbearance ſuch offenders ought to meet with, their crimes denote a very heinous offence, and a great violation of the law of God; they ought, therefore, to be puniſhed according to their treſpaſſes, which, in ſome caſes, ſhould be death, if the perſon ſo robbed and ſtole ſhould die in conſequence thereof, or ſhould not be reſtored and brought back; and even then to be liable to every damage and penalty that the judges ſhould think proper: for ſo it is annexed to this law and required, *that men ſhould put away evil from among them.* But this cannot now extend to the Weſt-India ſlavery: what ſhould rather be required of them, in their preſent caſe of infatuation, is to ſurrender and give it up, and heal the ſtripes that they have wounded, and to pour the healing balm of Chriſtianity into the bleeding wounds of Heathen barbarity and cruelty.

All the criminal laws of civilization ſeem to be founded upon that law of God which was publiſhed to Noah and his ſons; and, conſequently, as it is again and again repeated, it becomes irreverſible, and univerſal to all mankind. *And ſurely your blood of your lives will I require: at the hand of every beaſt will I require it; and at the hand of man, at the hand of every man's brother, will I require*

merchandizers of the human ſpecies, let them belong to what nation they will, are equally as bad; and they have no better right to ſteal, kidnap, buy, and carry away and ſell the Africans, than the Africans would have to carry away any of the Europeans in the ſame barbarous and unlawful manner.

But again, let us follow the European piracy to the Weſt-Indies, or any where among Chriſtians, and this law of the *Lord Chriſt* muſt ſtare every infidel ſlave-holder in the face, *And as ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye alſo to them likewiſe.* But there is no ſlave-holder would like to have himſelf enſlaved, and to be treated as a dog, and ſold like a beaſt; and therefore the ſlave-holders, and merchandizers of men, tranſgreſs this plain law, and they commit a greater violation againſt it, and act more contrary unto it, than it would be for a parcel of ſlaves to aſſume authority over their maſters, and compel them to ſlavery under them; for, if that was not doing as they would wiſh to be done to, it would be doing, at leaſt, as others do to them, in a way equally as much and more wrong. But our Divine Lord and *Maſter Chriſt* alſo teacheth men to *forgive one another their treſpaſſes*, and that we are not to do evil becauſe others do ſo, and to revenge injuries done unto us, Wherefore it is better, and more our duty, to ſuffer ourſelves to be laſhed and cruelly treated, than to take up the taſk of their barbarity. The juſt law of God requires an equal retaliation and reſtoration for every injury that men may do to others, to ſhew the greatneſs of the crime; but the law of forbearance, righteouſneſs and forgiveneſs, forbids the retaliation to be ſought after, when it would be

he ſhould die for his crime. And as murder is irreverſibly to be puniſhed with death, ſometimes when it is not done, but only implied or eventually intended, it even then requires death; and in this ſenſe it becomes right to face our enemies in the field of battle, and to cut them off. And when ſpies and incendiaries riſe up, or when rebellions break forth, and the lives of the Sovereign and others, and the good of the community is not ſafe while ſuch pretenders and their chief ſupporters are ſuffered to live; then it may be lawful, in ſome caſes, that they ſhould die; but in caſes of this kind there is generally more cowardice and cruelty than juſtice and mercy regarded, and more diſcretionary power left for men to uſe their authority in, and to eſtabliſh criminal laws or precedents than in any thing elſe. Hence we may find many of the different chiefs and kings in different parts of the world, in all ages, wading through a ſea of blood to their thrones, or ſupporting themſelves upon it, by deſolating and deſtroying others; and we may find good and bad in all ages ſetting up wretched examples for men to be guided by; and herein we may find a David, a Solomon, a Cromwell, committing murder and death, and a Charles the Second committing a greater carnage upon more innocent people than thoſe who ſuffered in the reign of a bloody Queen Mary; and even in a late rebellion there were many ſuffered in Britain, which, if they had been preſerved to this mild reign, they would have been as good neighbours, and as faithful ſubjects, as any other. But among all pretences for taking away the lives of men by any form of law, that for religion is the moſt unwar-

cruel ſlavery. But becauſe of his own goodneſs, and becauſe of the univerſal depravity of men, the Sovereign Judge of all has introduced a law of forbearance, to ſpare ſuch tranſgreſſors, where in many caſes the law denounces death as the puniſhment for their crimes, unleſs for thoſe founded upon murder, or ſuch abominations as cannot be forborn with in any civilization among men. But this law of forbearance is no alteration of the law itſelf; it is only a reſpite in order to ſpare ſuch as will fly to him for refuge and forgiveneſs for all their crimes, and for all their iniquities, who is the righteous fulfiller of the law, and the ſurety and repreſentative of men before God: and if they do not repent of their iniquity, and reform to a life of new obedience, as being under greater obligations to the law, but go on in their evil way, they muſt at laſt for ever lie under the curſe and every penalty of the juſt and holy law of tht Moſt High. This ſeems to be determined ſo by that Great Judge of the law, when the accuſers of a woman, taken in adultery, brought her before him, he ſtooped down as a man and wrote, we may ſuppoſe, the crimes of her accuſers in the duſt, and as the God of all intelligence painted them in their conſciences, wherefore they fled away one by one, and the woman was left alone before him; and as there was none of her accuſers in that caſe righteous enough to throw the firſt ſtone, and to execute the law upon her, ſhe was, Bid to go and ſin no more. But it is manifeſt that every crime that men may commit, where death is mentioned as the penalty thereof in the righteous law of God, it denotes a very great offence and a heinous trangreſſion; and although, in many caſes, it may

"as much *." According to this law, when the property of others is taken away, either by ſtealth, fraud, or violence, the aggreſſors ſhould be ſubjected to ſuch bondage and hard labour, (and eſpecially when the treſpaſs is great, and they have nothing to pay) as would be requiſite to make reſtitution to the injured, and to bring about a reformation to themſelves. And if they have committed violence either by threats or force, they ought to ſuffer bodily puniſhment, and the ſeverity of it according to their crimes, and the ſtubbornneſs of their obduracy; and all ſuch puniſhments as are neceſſary ſhould be inflicted upon them without pitying or ſparing them, though perhaps not to be continued for ever in the brutal manner that the Weſt-India ſlaves ſuffer for almoſt no crimes.

But whereas the robbing of others in any manner of their property is often attended with ſuch cruelty and violence, and a ſevere loſs to the ſufferers, it may, in ſome caſes, be thought that the law of God ſufficiently warrants the taking away the lives of the aggreſſors; for the taking away of a man's property in general may be conſidered as taking away his life, or at leaſt the means of his ſupport, and then the puniſhing the tranſgreſſors with death can only in that caſe be reckoned a conſtructive murder. Wherefore the tranſgreſſors ought to be puniſhed ſeverely; but never with any laws of civilization where death is concerned, without a regard to the law of God.

* A great part of this law is ſtrictly obſerved in Africa, and we make uſe of ſacrifices, and keep a ſabbath every ſeventh day, more ſtrictly than Chriſtians generally do.

And

require the life of man. Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed: for in the image of God made he man. If this law of God had not been given to men, murder itſelf would not have been any crime; and thoſe who puniſhed it with death would juſt have been as guilty as the other. But the law of God is juſt righteous and holy, and ought to be regarded and revered above all the laws of men; and this is added unto it: *What thing ſoever I command you, obſerve to do it: thou ſhalt not add thereto, nor diminiſh from it.* But it is an exceeding impious thing for men ever to preſume, or think, as ſome will ſay, that they would make it death as a puniſhment for ſuch a thing, and ſuch a treſpaſs; or that they can make any criminal laws of civilization as binding with a penalty of death for any thing juſt what they pleaſe. No ſuch thing can be ſuppoſed; no man upon earth ever had, or ever can have, a right to make laws where a penalty of cutting off by death is required as the puniſhment for the tranſgreſſion thereof: what is required of men is to be the doers of the law, and ſome of them to be judges of it; and if they judge wrongfully in taking away the lives of their fellow-creatures contrary to the law of God, they commit murder.

The reaſon why a man ſuffers death for breaking the laws of his country is, becauſe he tranſgreſſeth the law of God in that community he belongs to; and the laws of civilization are binding to put that law in force, and to point out and ſhew a ſufficient warrant wherefore he ſhould ſuffer, according as the juſt law of God requires for his treſpaſs; and then it is juſt and right that

diminſh any thing to the law of God, with reſpect to taking away their lives. Wherefore, if the law of God does not ſo clearly warrant, that they ſhould die for their theft, it, at leaſt, fully warrants that they ſhould be ſold into ſlavery for their crimes; and the laws of civilization may juſtly bind them, and hold them in perpetual bondage, becauſe they have ſold themſelves to work iniquity; but not that they ſhould be ſold to the heathen, or to ſuch as would not inſtruct them: for there might be hope, that if good inſtruction was properly adminiſtered unto them, there might be a poſſible reformation wrought upon ſome of them. Some, by their ingenious aſſiduity, have tamed the moſt ſavage wild beaſts; it is certainly more laudable to tame the moſt brutiſh and ſavage men, and, in time, there might be ſome Oneſimus's found amongſt them, that would become uſeful to reclaim others. Thoſe that break the laws of civilization, in any flagrant manner, are the only ſpecies of men that others have a right to enſlave; and ſuch ought to be ſold to the community, with every thing that can be found belonging to them, to make a commutation of reſtitution as far as could be; and they ſhould be kept at ſome uſeful and laborious employment, and it might be at ſome embankation, or recovering of waſte ground, as there might be land recovered on rivers and ſhores, worth all the expence, for the benefit of the community they belonged to. The continuance of that criminal ſlavery and bondage, ought to be according to the nature of their crimes, with a reference to their good behaviour, either to be continued or protracted. Such as were condemned for life, when their crimes were great, and themſelves ſtubborn,

might

unwarrantable: it is the command of God to ſuppreſs idolatry, and to break down the images and external pomp of groſs ſuperſtition, but not to deſtroy men themſelves: that perſecution is murder if it takes away the lives of men for their religion, for it has nothing to do with what men may think with reſpect to their own duty; and if a man is fooliſh enough to make an image of wood or ſtone, and to worſhip it, or even to adore a picture, if he keeps it to himſelf, perſecution has nothing to do with him.

The law of God forbids all manner of covetouſneſs and theft: but when any thing is taken away by ſtealth, it is not like thoſe injuries which cannot be reſtored, as the cutting off or wounding any of the members of the body; but it admits of a poſſible reſtoration, whether the violators can reſtore it or not as the law requires, ſo if a man owes a juſt debt it is not the leſs due by him if he has got nothing to pay it with; ſuch trangreſſors ought to be puniſhed according to their treſpaſſes, but not with death: for the law of God is, "If a thief be found breaking up, "and he be ſmitten that he die, if it was in the "night there ſhall be no blood ſhed for him; "but if the ſun be riſen upon him, there was "blood required for him if he was killed; for "ſaith the law it required only he ſhould make "full reſtitution; and if he had nothing, then "he ſhould be ſold for his theft. And if any "manner of theft be found in a man's hand, the "law requires a retaliation and reſtoration; that "is, that he ſhould reſtore double; but if it be "ſold or made away with, it was then to be four-"fold, and, in ſome caſes, five, ſix or ſeven times

man from ſlavery, but by enſlaving his maſter, it would be lawful for him to do ſo if he was able, for this would be doing juſtice to himſelf, and be juſtice. as the law requires, to chaſtiſe his maſter for enſlaving of him wrongfully.

Thence this general and grand duty ſhould be obſerved by every man, not to follow the multitude to do evil, neither to recompence evil for evil; and yet, ſo that a man may lawfully defend himſelf, and endeavour to ſecure himſelf, and others, as far as he can, from injuries of every kind. Wherefore all along, in the hiſtory of mankind, the various depredations committed in the world, by enſlaving, extirpating and deſtroying men, were always contrary to the laws of God, and what he had ſtrictly forbidden and commanded not to be done. But inſolent, proud, wicked men, in all ages, and in all places, are alike; they diſregard the laws of the Moſt High, and ſtop at no evil in their power, that they can contrive with any pretence of conſiſtency in doing miſchief to others, ſo as it may tend to promote their own profit and ambition. Such are all the depredators, kidnappers, merchandizers and enſlavers of men; they do not care, nor conſider, how much they injure others, if they can make any advantage to themſelves by it. But whenever theſe things were committed by wicked men, a retaliation was ſought after, as the only way of deliverance; for he who leadeth into captivity, ſhould be carried captive; and he which deſtroyeth with the ſword, ſhould die with the ſword. And as it became neceſſary to puniſh thoſe that wronged others, when the puniſhers went beyond the bounds of a juſt retaliation, and fell into the ſame crimes of the oppreſſors, not to prevent them-

And when the law of God admits of a forbearance, and a kind of forgiveneſs in many things, it ought to be the grand law of civilization to ſeek out ſuch rules of puniſhment as are beſt calculated to prevent injuries of every kind, and to reclaim the tranſgreſſors; and it is beſt, if it can be done, to puniſh with a leſs degree of ſeverity than their crimes deſerve. But all the laws of civilization muſt jar greatly when the law of God is ſcrewed up in the greateſt ſeverity to puniſh men for their crimes on the one hand, and on the other to be totally diſregarded*. When the Divine law points out a theft, where the thief ſhould make reſtitution for his treſpaſs, the laws of civilization ſay, he muſt die for his crime: and when that law tells us, that he who ſtealeth or maketh merchandize of men, that ſuch a thief ſhall ſurely die, the laws of civilization ſay, in many caſes, that it is no crime. In this the ways of men are not equal; but let the wiſe and juſt determine whether the laws of God or the laws of men are right.

Amongſt ſome of the greateſt tranſgreſſors of the laws of civilization, thoſe that defraud the public by forgery, or by ſubſtituting or falſifying any of the current ſpecie, ought to have their lives or their liberties taken away; for although they may not do any perſonal injury, they commit the greateſt robbery and theft, both to individuals and the whole community. But even in the ſuppreſſion of thoſe, men have no right to add or

* This confeſſional minſtrel may be often repeated, but, I fear, ſeldom regarded: "We have offended againſt thy holy "laws; we have left undone thoſe things which we ought to "have done; and we have done thoſe things which we "ought not to have done."

diminiſh

deſire: ſo they wrap it up. Among *the beſt* in Africa, we have found them *ſharp as a briar*; among *the moſt upright*, we have found them *ſharper than a thorn-hedge* in the Weſt-Indies. Yet, O Africa! yet, poor ſlave! *The day of thy watchmen cometh, and thy viſitation* draweth nigh, *that ſhall be their perplexity. Therefore I will look unto the Lord; I will wait for the God of my ſalvation; my God will hear me. Rejoice not againſt me, O mine enemy; though I be fallen, I ſhall yet ariſe; though I ſit in darkneſs, the Lord ſhall yet be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him, until he plead my cauſe, and execute judgment for me, and I ſhall behold his righteouſneſs. Then mine enemies ſhall ſee it, and ſhame ſhall cover them which ſaid unto me, Where is the Lord thy God,* that regardeth thee: *Mine eyes ſhall behold them trodden down as the mire of the ſtreets. In that day that thy walls* of deliverance *are to be built, in that day ſhall the decree* of ſlavery *be far removed.*

What revolution the end of that predominant evil of ſlavery and oppreſſion may produce, whether the wiſe and conſiderate will ſurrender and give it up, and make reſtitution for the injuries that they have already done, as far as they can; or whether the force of their wickedneſs, and the iniquity of their power, will lead them on until ſome univerſal calamity burſt forth againſt the abandoned carriers of it on, and againſt the criminal nations in confederacy with them, is not for me to determine? But this muſt appear evident, that for any man to carry on a traffic in the merchandize of ſlaves, and to keep them in ſlavery; or for any nation to oppreſs, extirpate and deſtroy others; that theſe are crimes of the greateſt magnitude,

might be ſo marked as to render their getting away impoſſible without being diſcovered, and that the very ſight of one of them might deter others from committing their crimes, as much as hanging perhaps a dozen of them; and it might be made ſo ſevere unto them, that it would render their own ſociety in bondage, almoſt the only preferable one that they could enjoy among men. The manner of confining them would not be ſo impracticable as ſome may be apt to think; and all theſe ſeverities come under the laws of men to puniſh others for their crimes, but they ſhould not go beyond the juſt law of God; and neither ſhould his laws be ſuſpended, where greater treſpaſſes are committed.

In this ſenſe every free community might keep ſlaves, or criminal priſoners in bondage; and ſhould they be ſold to any other, it ſhould not be to ſtrangers, nor without their own conſent; and if any were ſold for a term of years, they would naturally become free as ſoon as their purchaſe could be paid. But if any man ſhould buy another man without his own conſent, and compel him to his ſervice and ſlavery without any agreement of that man to ſerve him, the enſlaver is a robber, and a defrauder of that man every day. Wherefore it is as much the duty of a man who is robbed in that manner to get out of the hands of his enſlaver, as it is for any honeſt community of men to get out of the hands of rogues and villains. And however much is required of men to forgive one another their treſpaſſes in one reſpect, it is alſo manifeſt, and what we are commanded, as noble, to reſiſt evil in another, in order to prevent others doing evil, and to keep ourſelves from harm. Therefore, if there was no other way to deliver a

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doned evil and wickedneſs, ſo very diſgraceful to human nature, but even partakers in thoſe crimes of the moſt vile combinations of various pirates, kidnappers, robbers and thieves, the ruffians and ſtealers of men, that ever made their appearance in the world.

Soon after Columbus had diſcovered America, that great navigator was himſelf greatly embarraſſed and treated unjuſtly, and his beſt deſigns counteracted by the wicked baſeneſs of thoſe whom he led to that diſcovery. The infernal conduct of his Spaniſh competitors, whoſe leading motives were covetouſneſs, avarice and fanaticiſm, ſoon made their appearance, and became cruel and dreadful. At Hiſpaniola the baſe perfidy and bloody treachery of the Spaniards, led on by the perfidious Ovando, in ſeizing the peaceable Queen Anacoana and her attendants, burning her palace, putting all to deſtruction, and the innocent Queen and her people to a cruel death, is truly horrible and lamentable. And led on by the treacherous Cortes, the fate of the great Montezuma was dreadful and ſhocking; how that American monarch was treated, betrayed and deſtroyed, and his vaſt extenſive empire of the Mexicans brought to ruin and devaſtation, no man of ſenſibility and feeling can read the hiſtory without pity and reſentment. And looking over another page of that hiſtory, ſenſibility would kindle into horror and indignation, to ſee the baſe treacherous baſtard Pizarra at the head of the Spaniſh banditti of miſcreant depredators, leading them on, and overturning one of the moſt extenſive empires in the world. To recite a little of this as a ſpecimen of the reſt: It ſeems Pizarra, with his company of depredators,

themſelves from harm, and to deliver the oppreſſed and the captive, but to oppreſs and enſlave others, as much as they before them had done, the conſequence is plain, that an impending overthrow muſt ſtill fall upon them likewiſe. In that reſpect, ſo far as conquerors are permitted to become a judgment and a ſcourge to others, for their enormous tranſgreſſions, they are themſelves not a bit the more ſafe, for what they do, they often do wickedly for their own purpoſe; and when the purpoſe of Divine Providence, who raiſed them up, is fulfilled by them, in the puniſhment of others for their crimes; the next wave thereof will be to viſit them alſo according to their wickedneſs with ſome dreadful overthrow, and to ſwallow them up in the ſea of deſtruction and oblivion.

Hiſtory affords us many examples of ſevere retaliations, revolutions and dreadful overthrows; and of many crying under the heavy load of ſubjection and oppreſſion, ſeeking for deliverance. And methinks I hear now, many of my countrymen, in complexion, crying and groaning under the heavy yoke of ſlavery and bondage, and praying to be delivered; and the word of the Lord is thus ſpeaking for them, while they are bemoaning themſelves under the grievous bonds of their miſery and woe, ſaying, *Woe is me!* alas Africa! *for I am as the laſt gleanings of the ſummer fruit, as the grape gleanings of the vintage, where no cluſter is to eat. The good are periſhed out of the earth, and there is none upright among men; they all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. That they may do evil with both hands earneſtly, the prince aſketh, and the judge aſketh for a reward; and the great man he uttereth his miſchievous deſire:*

Pope, and ſubmit to the Great Monarch of Caſtile; but if he ſhould refuſe an immediate compliance with theſe requiſitions, they were to declare war againſt him, and that he might expect the dreadful effects of their vengeance. This ſtrange harangue, unfolding deep myſteries, and alluding to ſuch unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could tranſlate, and convey, at once, a diſtinct idea to an American, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehenſible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, as more obvious than the reſt, filled him with aſtoniſhment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate, and as ſuitable as could be well expected. He obſerved that he was Lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary ſucceſſion; and, ſaid, that he could not conceive how a foreign prieſt ſhould pretend to diſpoſe of territories which did not belong to him, and that if ſuch a prepoſterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful poſſeſſor, refuſed to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by his anceſtors; nor would he forſake the ſervice of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worſhip the God of the Spaniards, who was ſubject to death; and that with reſpect to other matters, he had never heard of them before, and did not then underſtand their meaning. And he deſired to know where Valverde had learned things ſo extraordinary. In this book, replied the fanatic Monk, reaching out his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: This, ſays he, is ſilent; it tell tells me nothing; and threw it with diſdain to the ground. The enraged

magnitude, and a moſt daring violation of the laws and commandments of the Moſt High, and which, at laſt, will be evidenced in the deſtruction and overthrow of all the tranſgreſſors. And nothing elſe can be expected for ſuch violations of taking away the natural rights and liberties of men, but that thoſe who are the doers of it will meet with ſome awful viſitation of the righteous judgment of God, and in ſuch a manner as it cannot be thought that his juſt vengeance for their iniquity will be the leſs tremendous becauſe his judgments are long delayed.

None but men of the moſt brutiſh and depraved nature, led on by the invidious influence of infernal wickedneſs, could have made their ſettlements in the different parts of the world diſcovered by them, and have treated the various Indian nations, in the manner that the barbarous inhuman Europeans have done: and their eſtabliſhing and carrying on that moſt diſhoneſt, unjuſt and diabolical traffic of buying and ſelling, and of enſlaving men, is ſuch a monſtrous, audacious and unparallelled wickedneſs, that the very idea of it is ſhocking, and the whole nature of it is horrible and infernal. It may be ſaid with confidence as a certain general fact, that all their foreign ſettlements and colonies were founded on murders and devaſtations, and that they have continued their depredations in cruel ſlavery and oppreſſion to this day: for where ſuch predominant wickedneſs as the African ſlave-trade, and the Weſt Indian ſlavery, is admitted, tolerated and ſupported by them, and carried on in their colonies, the nations and people who are the ſupporters and encouragers thereof muſt be not only guilty themſelves of that ſhameful and abandoned

tive conſequences that attended his confinement, and by beholding the vaſt treaſures of ſpoil that the Spaniards had ſo eagerly gathered up, he learned ſomething of their covetous diſpoſition: and he offered as a ranſom what aſtoniſhed the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom: the apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and ſixteen in breadth, he undertook to fill it with veſſels of gold as high as he could reach. This tempting propoſal was eagerly agreed to by Pizarra, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber to mark the ſtipulated height to which the treaſure was to riſe. The gold was accordingly collected from various parts with the greateſt expedition by the Inca's obedient and loving ſubjects, who thought nothing too much for his ranſom and life; but, after all, poor Atahualpa was cruelly murdered, and his body burnt by a military inquiſition, and his extenſive and rich dominions devoted to deſtruction and ruin by theſe mercileſs depredators.

The hiſtory of thoſe dreadfully perfidious methods of forming ſettlements, and acquiring riches and territory, would make humanity tremble, and even recoil, at the enjoyment of ſuch acquiſitions and become reverted into rage and indignation at ſuch horrible injuſtice and barbarous cruelty, "It is ſaid by the Peruvians, that "their Incas, or Monarchs, had uniformly ex- "tended their power with attention to the good "of their ſubjects, that they might diffuſe the "bleſſings of civilization, and the knowledge of "the arts which they poſſeſſed, among the people "that embraced their protection; and during a

"ſucceſſion

tors, had artfully penetrated into the Peruvian empire, and pretended an embaſſy of peace from a great monarch, and demanded an audience of the noble Atahualpa, the great Inca or Lord of that empire, that the terms of their embaſſy might be explained, and the reaſon of their coming into the territories of that monarch. Atahualpa fearing the menaces of thoſe terrible invaders, and thinking to appeaſe them by complying with their requeſt, relied on Pizarra's feigned pretenſions of friendſhip; accordingly the day was appointed, and Atahualpa made his appearance with the greateſt decency and ſplendor he could, to meet ſuch ſuperior beings as the Americans conceived their invaders to be, with four hundred men in an uniform dreſs, as harbingers to clear the way before him, and himſelf ſitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almoſt covered with plates of gold and ſilver, enriched with precious ſtones, and was carried on the ſhoulders of his principal attendants. As he approached near the Spaniſh quarters the arch fanatic Father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other, and began with a long diſcourſe, pretending to explain ſome of the general doctrines of Chriſtianity, together with the fabulous notion of St. Peter's vicegerency, and the tranſmiſſion of his apoſtolic power continued in the ſucceſſion of the Popes; and that the then Pope, Alexander, by donation, had inveſted their maſter as the ſole Monarch of all the New World. In conſequence of this, Atahualpa was inſtantly required to embrace the Chriſtian religion, acknowledge the juriſdiction of the Pope,

what has yet appeared. But, alas! at that time there was no Chriſtians to ſend,) and very few now), theſe were obliged to hide themſelves in the obſcure places of the earth; that was, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, to mix in obſcurity among the meaneſt of the people, having no power and authority; and it ſeems at that time there was no power among Chriſtians on earth to have ſent ſuch as would have been uſeful to the Americans; if there had they would have ſent after the depredators, and reſcued the innocent.

But as I ſaid before, it is ſurely to the great ſhame and ſcandal of Chriſtianity among all the Heathen nations, that thoſe robbers, plunderers, deſtroyers and enſlavers of men ſhould call themſelves Chriſtians, and exerciſe their power under any Chriſtian government and authority. I would have my African countrymen to know and underſtand, that the deſtroyers and enſlavers of men can be no Chriſtians; for Chriſtianity is the ſyſtem of benignity and love, and all its votaries are devoted to honeſty, juſtice, humanity, meekneſs, peace and good-will to all men. But whatever title or claim ſome may aſſume to call themſelves by it, without poſſeſſing any of its virtues, can only manifeſt them to be the more abominable liars, and the greateſt enemies unto it, and as belonging to the ſynagogue of Satan, and not the adherers to Chriſt. For the enſlavers and oppreſſors of men, among thoſe that have obtained the name of Chriſtians, they are ſtill acting as its greateſt enemies, and contrary to all its genuine principles; they ſhould therefore be called by its oppoſite, the Antichriſt. Such are fitly belonging to that moſt diſſolute ſorcereſs of all religion in the world:

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enraged father of ruffians, turning towards his countrymen, the aſſaſſinators, cried out, To arms, Chriſtians, to arms; the word of God is inſulted; avenge this profanation on theſe impious dogs.

At this the Chriſtian deſperadoes impatient in delay, as ſoon as the ſignal of aſſault was given their martial muſic began to play, and their attack was rapid, ruſhing ſuddenly upon the Peruvians, and with their hell-invented enginery of thunder, fire and ſmoke, they ſoon put them to flight and deſtruction. The Inca, though his nobles crouded round him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in ſacrificing their own lives that they might cover the ſacred perſon of their Sovereign, was ſoon penetrated to by the aſſaſſinators, dragged from his throne, and carried to the Spaniſh quarters. The fate of the Monarch increaſed the precipitate flight of his followers; the plains being covered with upwards of thirty thouſand men, were purſued by the ferocious Spaniards towards every quarter, who, with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity, continued to ſlaughter the wretched fugitives till the cloſe of the day, that never had once offered at any reſiſtance. Pizarra had contrived this daring and perfidious plan on purpoſe to get hold of the Inca, notwithſtanding his aſſumed character of an ambaſſador from a powerful monarch to court an alliance with that prince, and in violation of all the repeated offers of his own friendſhip. The noble Inca thus found himſelf betrayed and ſhut up in the Spaniſh quarters, though ſcarce aware at firſt of the vaſt carnage and deſtruction of his people; but ſoon conceiving the deſtruc-

and feature, is the Antichrift; and every dealer in ſlaves, and thoſe that hold them in ſlavery, whatever elſe they may call themſelves, or whatever elſe they may profeſs. And likewiſe, thoſe nations whoſe governments ſupport that evil and wicked traffic of ſlavery, however remote the ſituation where it is carried on may be, are, in that reſpect, as much Antichriſtian as any thing in the world can be. No man will ever rob another unleſs he be a villain: nor will any nation or people ever enſlave and oppreſs others, unleſs themſelves be baſe and wicked men, and who act and do contrary and againſt every duty in Chriſtianity.

The learned and ingenious author of Britannia Libera, as chiefly alluding to Great-Britain alone, gives ſome account of that great evil and wickedneſs carried on by the Chriſtian nations, reſpecting the direful effects of the great devaſtations committed in foreign parts, whereby it would appear that the ancient and native inhabitants have been drenched in blood and oppreſſion by their mercileſs viſitors (which have formed colonies and ſettlements among them) the avaricious depredators, plunderers and deſtroyers of nations. As ſome eſtimate of it, "to deſtroy "eleven million, and diſtreſs many more in Ame-"rica, to ſtarve and oppreſs twelve million in "Aſia, and the great number deſtroyed, is not "the way to promote the dignity, ſtrength and "ſafety of empire, but to draw down the Di-"vine vengeance on the offenders, for depriving "ſo many of their fellow-creatures of life, or the "common bleſſings of the earth: whereas by "obſerving the humane principles of preſerva-"tion with felicitation, the proper principles of

"all

"ſucceſſion of twelve monarchs, not one had "deviated from this beneficent character." Their ſenſibility of ſuch nobleneſs of character would give them the moſt poignant diſlike to their new terrible invaders that had deſolated and laid waſte their country. The character of their monarchs would ſeeem to vie with as great virtues as any King in Europe can boaſt of. Had the Peruvians been viſited by men of honeſty, knowledge, and enlightened underſtanding, to teach them, by patient inſtruction and the bleſſing of God, they might have been induced to embrace the doctrines and faith of Chriſtianity, and to abandon their errors of ſuperſtition and idolatry. Had Chriſtians, that deſerve the name thereof, been ſent among them, the many uſeful things that they would have taught them, together with their own pious example, would have captivated their hearts; and the knowledge of the truth would have made it a very deſirous thing for the Americans to have thoſe that taught them to ſettle among them. Had that been the caſe the Americans, in various parts, would have been as eager to have the Europeans to come there as they would have been to go, ſo that the Europeans might have found ſettlements enough, in a friendly alliance with the inhabitants, without deſtroying and enſlaving them. And had that been the caſe, it might be ſuppoſed, that Europe and America, long before now, would both, with a growing luxuriancy, have been flouriſhing with affluence and peace, and their long extended and fruitful branches, loaden with benefits to each other, reaching over the ocean, might have been more extenſive, and greater advantages have been expected, for the good of both than

burden to the reſt of the community: whereas if there were no funds, thoſe who have money would be obliged to occupy it in ſome improvements themſelves, or lend it to other manufacturers or merchants, and by that means uſeful employments, ingenuity and commerce would flouriſh. But all ſtock-jobbing, lotteries, and uſeleſs buſineſs, has a tendency to ſlavery and oppreſſion; for as the greater any idle part of the community is, there muſt be the greater labour and hardſhips reſting upon the induſtrious part who ſupport the reſt; as all men are allotted in ſome degree to eat their bread with the ſweat of their brow; *but it is evil with any people when the rich grind the face of the poor.* Lotteries muſt be nearly as bad a way of getting money for the good of a nation, as it is for an individual when he is poor, and obliged to pawn his goods to increaſe his poverty, already poor. On the reverſe, if a nation was to keep a bank to lend money to merchants and others, that nation might flouriſh, and its ſupport to thoſe in need might be attended with advantage to the whole; but that nation which is obliged to borrow money from others, muſt be in a poor and wretched ſituation, and the inhabitants, who have to bear the load of its taxes, muſt be greatly burdened, and perhaps many of thoſe employed in its ſervice (as ſoldiers and others) poorly paid. It was otherwiſe with *the people of Iſrael of old*; it was the promiſe and bleſſing of God to them, *That they ſhould lend unto many nations, but ſhould not borrow.*

But when a nation or people do wickedly, and commit cruelties and devaſtations upon others, and enſlave them, it cannot be expected that they ſhould

" With whom the kings of the earth have lived " deliciously; and the inhabitants of the earth " have been made drunk with the wine of " her abominations; and the merchants of the " earth are waxed rich through the abundance " of her delicacies, by their traffic in various " things, and in slaves and souls of men!" It was not enough for the malignant destroyer of the world to set up his hydra-headed kingdom of evil and wickedness among the kingdom of men; but also to cause an image to be made unto him, by something imported in the only true religion that ever was given to men; and that image of iniquity is described as arising up out of the earth, having two horns like a lamb, which, by its votaries and adherents, has been long established and supported. One of its umbragious horns of apostacy and delusion is founded, in a more particular respect, on a grand perversion of the Old Testament dispensations, which has extended itself over all the Mahometan nations in the East; and the other horn of apostacy, bearing an allusion and professional respect to that of the new, has extended itself over all the Christian nations in the West. That grand umbragious shadow and image of evil and wickedness, has spread its malignant influence over all the nations of the earth, and has, by its power of delusion, given countenance and support to all the power of evil and wickedness done among men; and all the adherents and supporters of that delusion, and all the carriers on of wickedness, are fitly called Antichrist. But all the nations have drunk of the wine of that iniquity, and become drunk with the wine of the wrath of her fornication, whose name, by every mark

power and intereſt in their favour; that whatever crimes any of them commit they are ſeldom brought to a juſt puniſhment. Unleſs that ſomething of this kind had been the caſe, 'tis impoſſible to conceive how ſuch an enormous evil as the ſlave-trade could have been eſtabliſhed and carried on under any Chriſtian government: and from hence that motly ſyſtem of government, which hath ſo ſprung up and eſtabliſhed itſelf, may be accounted for, and as being an evident and univerſal depravity of one of the fineſt conſtitutions in the world; and it may be feared if theſe unconſtitutional laws, reaching from Great-Britain to her colonies, be long continued in and ſupported, to the carrying on that horrible and wicked traffic of ſlavery, muſt at laſt mark out the whole of the Britiſh conſtitution with ruin and deſtruction; and that the moſt generous and tenacious people in the world for liberty, may alſo at laſt be reduced to ſlaves. And an Ethiopian may venture to aſſert, that ſo long as ſlavery is continued in any part of the Britiſh dominions, that more than one-half of the legiſlature are the virtual ſupporters and encouragers of a traffic which ought to be aboliſhed, as it cannot be carried on but by ſome of the moſt abandoned and profligate men upon earth.

However, the partizans of ſuch a claſs of men are generally too many and numerous, whoſe viciated principles from time to time have led the whole nation into debt, error and diſgrace; and by their magnetic influence there is a general ſupport given to deſpotiſm, oppreſſion and cruelty. For many have acquired great riches by ſome inſidious traffic or illegal gain; and as theſe become often leading men in governments, vaſt multitudes

" all rulers, their empire might have received all " reaſonable benefit, with the encreaſe of future " glory." But ſhould it be aſked, what advantages Great-Britain has gained by all its extenſive territories abroad, the devaſtations committed, and the abominable ſlavery and oppreſſion carried on in its colonies? It may be anſwered according to the old proverb,

It ſeldom is the grand-child's lot,
To ſhare of wealth unjuſtly got.

This ſeems to be verified too much in their preſent ſituation: for however wide they have extended their territories abroad, they have ſunk into a world of debt at home, which muſt ever remain an impending burden upon the inhabitants. And it is not likely, by any plan as yet adopted, to be ever paid, or any part of it, without a long continued heavy annual load of taxes. Perhaps, great as it is ſome other plan, more equitable for the good of the whole community, if it was wanted to be done, and without any additional taxes, might be ſo made uſe of to pay it all off in twenty or thirty years time, and in ſuch manner as whatever emergencies might happen, as never to need to borrow any money at intereſt. The national debt caſts a ſluggiſh deadneſs over the whole realm, greatly ſtops ingenuity and improvements, promotes idleneſs and wickedneſs, clogs all the wheels of commerce, and drains the money out of the nation. If a foreigner buys ſtock, in the courſe of years that the intereſt amounts to the principal, he gets it all back; and in an equitable time the ſame ſum ever after, and in courſe muſt take that money to foreign parts. And thoſe who hold ſtock at home, are a kind of idle drones, as a burden

preſent forms of government, as well as much abuſe of that which is right.

The Spaniards began their ſettlements in the Weſt Indies and America, by depredations of rapine, injuſtice, treachery and murder; and they have continued in the barbarous practice of devaſtation, cruelty, and oppreſſion ever ſince: and their principles and maxims in planting colonies have been adopted, in ſome meaſure, by every other nation in Europe. This guil ful method of colonization muſt undoubtedly and imperceptibly have hardened men's hearts, and led them on from one degree of barbarity and cruelty to another: for when they had deſtroyed, waſted and deſolated the native inhabitants, and when many of their own people, enriched with plunder, had retired, or returned home to enjoy their ill-gotten wealth, other reſources for men to labour and cultivate the ground, and ſuch other laborious employments were wanted. Vaſt territories and large poſſeſſions, without getting inhabitants to labour for them, were of no uſe. A general part of what remained of the wretched fugitives, who had the beſt native right to thoſe poſſeſſions, were obliged to make their eſcape to places more remote, and ſuch as could not, were obliged to ſubmit to the hard labour and bondage of their invaders; but as they had not been uſed to ſuch harſh treatment and laborious employment as they were then ſubjected to, they were ſoon waſted away and became few. Their proud invaders found the advantage of having their labour done for nothing, and it became their general practice to pick up the unfortunate ſtrangers that fell in their way, when they thought they could make uſe of them in their ſervice.

That

ſhould be attended with the bleſſings of God, neither to eſchew evil. They often become infatuated to do evil unawares; and thoſe employed under their ſervice ſometimes lead them into debt, error and wickedneſs, in order to enrich themſelves by their plunder, in committing the moſt barbarous cruelties, under pretences of war, wherein they were the firſt aggreſſors, and which is generally the caſe in all unnatural and deſtructive diſputes of war. In this buſineſs money is wanted, the national debt becomes increaſed, and new loans and other ſums muſt be added to the funds. The plunderers abroad ſend home their caſh as faſt as they can, and by one means and another the ſums wanted to borrow, are ſoon made up. At laſt when the wars ſubſide, or other buſineſs calls them home, laden with the ſpoils of the Eaſt or elſewhere, they have then the grand part of their buſineſs to negociate, in buying up bank ſtock, and lodging their plunder and ill-got wealth in the Britiſh or other funds. Thus the nation is loaded with more debt, and with an annual addition of more intereſt to pay, to the further advantage of thoſe who often occaſioned it by their villainy; who, if they had their deſerts, like the Popiſh inquiſitors, are almoſt the only people in the world who deſerve to be hung on the rack.

But ſo it happens in general, that men of activity and affluence, by whatever way they are poſſeſſed of riches, or have acquired a greatneſs of ſuch property, they are always preferred to take the lead in matters of government, ſo that the greateſt depredators, warriors, contracting companies of merchants, and rich ſlave-holders, always endeavour to puſh themſelves on to get power

"The Royal African Company (as is is called, ought rather to be reverſed as unworthy of the name) was incorporated 14th Charles II. and impowered to trade from Salle in South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope, and to erect forts and factories on the weſtern coaſt of Africa for that purpoſe. But this trade was laid open by an act of parliament, Anno 1697, and every private merchant permitted to trade thither, upon paying the ſum of ten pounds towards maintaining the forts and garriſons. This Company, for ſecuring their commerce, erected ſeveral factories on the coaſt; the moſt remarkable are theſe, viz. on the North part of Guinea, James Fort, upon an iſland in the River Gambia, Sierra Leona, and Sherbro; and on the South part of Guinea, viz. on the Gold Coaſt, Dick's Cove, Succunda, Commenda, Cape Coaſt Caſtle, Fort Royal, Queen Anne's Point, Charles Fort, Annamabo, Winebah, Shidoe, Acra, &c. In all theſe places it is their grand buſineſs to traffic in the human ſpecies; and dreadful and ſhocking as it is to think, it has even been eſtabliſhed by royal authority, and is ſtill ſupported and carried on under a Chriſtian government; and this muſt evidently appear thereby, that the learned, the civilized, and even the enlightened nations are become as truly barbarous and brutiſh as the unlearned.

To give any juſt conception of the barbarous traffic carried on at thoſe factories, it would be out of my power to deſcribe the miſerable ſituation of the poor exiled Africans, which by the craft of wicked men daily become their prey, though I have ſeen enough of their miſery as well as read; no deſcription can give an adequate idea

multitudes by ſea and land purſue the ſame courſe, and ſupport the ſame meaſures; like adventurers in the lottery, each graſping for the higheſt prize; or as much enamoured with any infamous way of getting riches, as the Spaniards were with the Peruvian veſſels of gold. And when ambitious and wicked men are bent upon avarice and covetouſneſs, it leads them on to commit terrible cruelties, and their hearts become hardened in wickedneſs; ſo that even their enormous crimes ſink in their own eſtimation, and ſoften into trivial matters. The houſe-breakers and highwaymen, petty depredators, think nothing of any miſchief or cruelty that they can do, ſo as they can gain their end and come off ſafe; but their villainy and crimes appear to other men as they ought to do, and if they can be detected, and taken hold of, they will meet with ſuch puniſhment as they juſtly deſerve for their crimes. But it is otherwiſe with the Colonians, the great depredators, pirates, kidnappers, robbers, oppreſſors and enſlavers of men. The laws as reaching from Great-Britain to the Weſt-Indies, do not detect them, but protect the opulent ſlave-holders; though their opulence and protection by any law, or any government whatſoever, cannot make them leſs criminal than violators of the common rights and liberties of men. They do not take away a man's property, like other robbers; but they take a man himſelf, and ſubject him to their ſervice and bondage, which is a greater robbery, and a greater crime, than taking away any property from men whatſoever. And, therefore, with reſpect to them, there is very much wanted for regulating the natural rights of mankind, and very much wrong in the

preſent

bemoaning themſelves with grief and lamentation at the proſpect of their wretched fate. And when ſold and delivered up to their inhuman purchaſers, a more heart-piercing ſcene cannot well take place. The laſt embrace of the beloved huſband and wife may be ſeen, taking their dear offspring in their arms, and with the moſt parental fondneſs, bathing their cheeks with a final parting endearment. But on this occaſion they are not permitted to continue long, they are ſoon torn away by their unfeeling maſters, entirely deſtitute of a hope of ever ſeeing each other again; and no conſolation is afforded to them in this ſorrowful and truly pitiable ſituation. Should any of them ſtill linger, and cling together a little longer, and not part as readily as their owners would have them, the flogger is called on, and they are ſoon drove away with the bloody commiſeration of the cutting fangs of the whip laſhing their naked bodies. This laſt exerciſe of the bloody whip, with many other cruel puniſhments, generally becomes an appendage of their miſerable fate, until their wretched lives be wore out with hunger, nakedneſs, hard labour, dejection and deſpair. Alas! alas! poor unhappy mortal! to experience ſuch treatment from men that take upon themſelves the ſacred name of Chriſtians!

In ſuch a vaſt extended, hideous and predominant ſlavery, as the Europeans carry on in their Colonies, ſome indeed may fall into better hands, and meet with ſome commiſeration and better treatment than others, and a few may become free, and get themſelves liberated from that cruel and galling yoke of bondage; but what are theſe to the whole, even hundreds of thouſands, held

and

That baſe traffic of kidnapping and ſtealing men was begun by the Portugueſe on the coaſt of Africa, and as they found the benefit of it for their own wicked purpoſes, they ſoon went on to commit greater depredations. The Spaniards followed their infamous example, and the African ſlave-trade was thought moſt advantageous for them, to enable themſelves to live in eaſe and affluence by the cruel ſubjection and ſlavery of others. The French and Engliſh, and ſome other nations in Europe, as they founded ſettlements and colonies in the Weſt Indies. or in America, went on in the ſame manner, and joined hand in hand with the Portugueſe and Spaniards, to rob and pillage Africa, as well as to waſte and deſolate the inhabitants of the weſtern continent. But the European depredators and pirates have not only robbed and pillaged the people of Africa themſelves; but, by their inſtigation, they have infeſted the inhabitants with ſome of the vileſt combinations of fraudulent and treacherous villains, even among their own people; and have ſet up their forts and factories as a reſervoir of public and abandoned thieves, and as a den of deſperadoes, where they may enſnare, entrap and catch men. So that Africa has been robbed of its inhabitants; its free-born ſons and daughters have been ſtole, and kidnapped, and violently taken away, and carried into captivity and cruel bondage. And it may be ſaid, in reſpect to that diabolical traffic which is ſtill carried on by the European depredators, that Africa has ſuffered as much and more than any other quarter of the globe. O merciful God! when will the wickedneſs of man have an end?

The

oppreſſions loaded upon the wretched ſurvivors are ſuch that they are continually wearing out, and a new annual ſupply wanted; that the vaſt carnage, and the great multitude of human ſouls that are actually deprived of life by carrying on that iniquitous buſineſs, may be ſuppoſed to be even more than one hundred thouſand that periſh annually; or ſuppoſing that to be greatly leſs than it is, ſtill it is ſo great that the very idea is ſhocking to conceive, at the thought of it ſenſibility would bluſh, and feeling nature abſolutely turn pale.

"Gracious God! how wicked, how beyond all "example impious, muſt be that ſervitude which "cannot be carried on without the continual "murder of ſo many innocent perſons. What "puniſhment is not to be expected from ſuch "monſtrous and unparalleled barbarity? For if "the blood of one man unjuſtly ſhed cries with "ſo loud a voice for the Divine vengeance, how "ſhall the cries and groans of an hundred thou-"ſand men annually murdered aſcend the celeſ-"tial manſions, and bring down that puniſhment "ſuch enormities deſerve?" As this enormous iniquity is not conjecture, but an obvious fact, occaſioned by that dreadful and wicked buſineſs of ſlavery, were the inhabitants of Great-Britain to hear tell of any other nation that murdered one hundred thouſand innocent people annually, they would think them an exceeding inhuman, barbarous, and wicked people indeed, and that they would be ſurely puniſhed by ſome ſignal judgment of Almighty God. But ſurely law and liberty, juſtice and equity, which are the proper foundations of the Britiſh government, and humanity the moſt amiable characteriſtic of the people,

idea of the horror of their feelings, and the dreadful calamities they undergo. The treacherous, perfidious and cruel methods made uſe of in procuring them, are horrible and ſhocking. The bringing them to the ſhips and factories, and ſubjecting them to brutal examinations ſtripped naked and markings, is barbarous and baſe. The ſtowing them in the holds of the ſhips like goods of burden, with cloſeneſs and ſtench, is deplorable; and, what makes addition to this deplorable ſituation, they are often treated in the moſt barbarous and inhuman manner by the unfeeling monſters of Captains. And when they arrive at the deſtined port in the colonies, they are again ſtripped naked for the brutal examination of their purchaſers to view them, which, to many, muſt add ſhame and grief to their other woe, as may be evidently ſeen with ſorrow, melancholy and deſpair marked upon their countenances. Here again another ſcene of grief and lamentation ariſes;—friends and near relations muſt be parted never to meet again, nor knowing to whence they go. Here daughters are clinging to their mothers, and mothers to their daughters, bedewing each others naked breaſts with tears; here fathers, mothers, and children, locked in each others arms, are begging never to be ſeparated; here the huſband will be pleading for his wife, and the wife praying for her children, and entreating, enough to melt the moſt obdurate heart, not to be torn from them, and taken away from her huſband; and ſome will be ſtill weeping for their native ſhore, and their dear relations and friends, and other endearing connections which they have left behind, and have been barbarouſly tore away from; and all are bemoaning

"loſſes to the ſtates to which they ſeverally be-
"long, are ſo many awful viſitations of God for
"this inhuman violation of his laws. And it is
"not perhaps unworthy of remark, that as the
"ſubjects of Great-Britain have two-thirds of this
"impious commerce in their own hands, ſo they
"have ſuffered in the ſame proportion, or more
"ſeverely than the reſt. How far theſe misfor-
"tunes may appear to be acts of Providence, and
"to create an alarm to thoſe who have been ac-
"cuſtomed to refer every effect to its apparent
"cauſe; who have been habituated to ſtop there,
"and to overlook the finger of God, becauſe it
"is ſlightly covered under the veil of ſecondary
"laws, we will not pretend to determine; but
"this we will aſſert with confidence, that the
"Europeans have richly deſerved them all: the
"fear of ſympathy that can hardly be reſtrained
"on other melancholy occaſions, ſeems to forget
"to flow at the relation of theſe; and that we
"can never, with any ſhadow of juſtice, wiſh
"proſperity to the undertakers of thoſe whoſe
"ſucceſs muſt be at the expence of the happineſs
"of millions of their fellow-creatures*."

For though this world is not the place of final retribution, yet there is an evidence maintained in the courſe of Divine Providence, that verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth. That

* See the excellent Mr. Clarkſon's Eſſay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species; and, I muſt add, the amiable and indefatigable friend of mankind, Granville Sharp, Eſq; from whoſe writings I have borrowed ſome of the following obſervations. I am alſo indebted to ſeveral others, whoſe intrinſic virtues will equally ſhine in the ſame amiable manner, while ever there is any virtue and humanity amongſt men; and when thoſe of the enſlavers of men will ſink into abhorrence for ever.

nations

and perpetrated in all the prevalent and intolerable calamities of that ſtate of bondage and exile. The emancipation of a few, while ever that evil and predominant buſineſs of ſlavery is continued, cannot make that horrible traffic one bit the leſs criminal. For, according to the methods of procuring ſlaves in Africa, there muſt be great robberies and murders committed before any emancipation can take place, and before any lenitive favours can be ſhewn to any of them, even by the generous and humane. This muſt evidence that the whole of that baſe traffic is an enormous evil and wicked thing, which cries aloud for redreſs, and that an immediate end and ſtop ſhould be put to it.

The worthy and judicious author of the Hiſtorical account of Guinea, and others, have given ſome very ſtriking eſtimates of the exceeding evil occaſioned by that wicked diabolical traffic of the African ſlave-trade; wherein it ſeems, of late years, the Engliſh have taken the lead, or the greateſt part of it, in carrying it on. They have computed, that the ſhips from Liverpool, Briſtol and London have exported from the coaſt of Africa upwards of one hundred thouſand ſlaves annually; and that among other evils attending this barbarous inhuman traffic, it is alſo computed that the numbers which are killed by the treacherous and barbarous methods of procuring them, together with thoſe that periſh in the voyage, and die in the ſeaſoning, amount to at leaſt an hundred thouſand, which periſh in every yearly attempt to ſupply the colonies, before any of the wretched ſurvivers, reduced to about ſixty thouſand, annually required as an additional ſtock can be made uſeful. But as the great ſeverities and

deſtructive wars, earthquakes and dreadful thunders, ſtorms and hurricanes, blaſtings and deſtructive inſects, inclement and unfruitful ſeaſons, national debt and oppreſſions, poverty and diſtreſſes of individuals, &c. *For his own iniquity ſhall take the wicked himſelf*; and who can tell what dreadful calamities may yet befal to a people reſponſible for ſo great a ſhare of iniquity as in that part which they carry on of the African ſlave-trade alone. "And it is not known how "ſoon a juſt national retribution of vengeance "may burſt forth againſt it; how ſoon the Al-"mighty may think fit to recompence the Bri-"tiſh nation, according to the work of their "hands, for the horrible oppreſſion of the poor "Africans.

"For national wickedneſs from the beginning "of the world has generally been viſited with "national puniſhments; and ſurely no national "wickedneſs can be more heinous in the ſight of "God than a public toleration of ſlavery, and "ſooner or later theſe kingdom will be viſited "with ſome ſignal mark of his diſpleaſure, for "the notorious oppreſſion of the poor Africans, "that are haraſſed and continually wearing out "with a moſt ſhameful involuntary ſervitude in "the Britiſh colonies, and by a public toleration "under the ſanction of laws, to which the mo-"narchs of England from time to time, by ad-"vice of their privy-counſellors, have given the "royal aſſent, and thereby rendered themſelves "parties in the oppreſſion, and it may be feared "partakers in their guilt."—"And every man "has ample reaſon to fear that God will make "of this nation, in proportion to the magnitude "of its guilt in the ſlave-dealing, a tremendous

"example

people, muſt be entirely fled from their land, if they can think a leſs puniſhment due to themſelves, for ſupporting and carrying on ſuch enormous wickedneſs, if they do not ſpeedily relinquiſh and give it up. The very nature of that wickedneſs of enſlaving of men is ſuch, that were the traffic, which European nations carry on in it, a thouſand times leſs than it is, it would be what no righteous nation would admit of for the ſake of any gain whatſoever. Wherefore as it is, what ought to be done? If there is any righteouſneſs, any wiſdom, any juſtice, or any humanity to be found, ought not the whole of it, and all the branches of ſuch exceeding evil and wicked traffic, and all the iniquity of it to be relinquiſhed, and root and branches to be ſpeedily given up and put an end to?

"For while ſuch monſtrous iniquity, ſuch de-
"liberate barbarity and cruelty is carried on,
"whether it be conſidered as the crime of indi-
"viduals, or as patronized and encouraged by
"the laws of the land, it holds forth an equal
"degree of enormity. And a crime founded in
"ſuch a dreadful pre-eminence in wickedneſs,
"both of individuals and the nation, muſt ſome
"time draw down upon them the heavieſt judg-
"ments of Almighty God."—"On this occaſion
"there ſeems already to be an interference of
"Divine Providence, though the obdurate and
"impenitent part of mankind may not regard it.
"The violent and ſupernatural agitations of all
"the elements, which for a ſeries of years have
"prevailed in thoſe European ſettlements where
"the unfortunate Africans are retained in a ſtate
"of ſlavery, and which have brought unſpeak-
"able calamities to the inhabitants, and public

clergy of all denominations, whom we would consider as the devout meſſengers of righteouſneſs, peace, and good-will to all men, if we find any of them ranked with infidels and barbarians, we muſt conſider them as particularly reſponſible, and, in ſome meaſure, guilty of the crimes of other wicked men in the higheſt degree. For it is their duty to warn every man, and to teach every man to know their errors; and if they do not, the crimes of thoſe under their particular charge muſt reſt upon themſelves, and upon ſome of them, in ſuch a caſe as this, that of the whole nation in general; and thoſe (whatever their reſpective ſituation may be) who forbid others to aſſiſt them, muſt not be very ſenſible of their own duty, and the great extenſiveneſs and importance of their own charge. And as it is their great duty to teach men righteouſneſs and piety; this ought to be conſidered as ſufficiently obvious unto them, and to all men, that nothing can be more contrary unto it, than the evil and very nature of enſlaving men, and making merchandize of them like the brute creation. "For "it is evident that no cuſtom eſtabliſhed among "men was ever more impious; ſince it is con- "trary to reaſon, juſtice, nature, the principles "of law and government, and the whole doc- "trine, in ſhort, of natural religion, and the re- "vealed voice of God. And, therefore, that it "is both evident and expedient, that there is an "abſolute neceſſity to aboliſh the ſlave trade, and "the Weſt-India ſlavery; and that to be in power, "and to neglect even a day in endeavouring to "put a ſtop to ſuch monſtrous iniquity and aban- "doned wickedneſs (as the tenure of every man's "life, as well as the time of his being in office

"and

nations may continue long, with a conſiderable degree of worldly proſperity, and without ſeeming to be diſtinguiſhed by remarkable calamities. when their wickedneſs is become very great and prevalent; yet it is no way inconſiſtent to aſſert, (and what ſacred hiſtory warrant us to conclude) that their judgment ſlumbereth not. Had one been among the Canaanites a few years before the Iſraelites entered their country, or in Babylon a little before Cyrus encamped againſt it, he would have beheld a people in a ſtate of great worldly proſperity, and in much ſecurity, notwithſtanding that the judgments of God were ready to ſeize upon them. Great and deſtructive wars are kindled up from time to time, whereby multitudes of mankind are ſwept away from the face of the earth, and the wealth of nations are exhauſted. Famine, peſtilence and earthquakes have often ſpread terror, deſolation and miſery among the inhabitants of the world. Nor are there wanting inſtances of remarkable national diſtreſſes as a judgment for their wickedneſs, by a variety of other cauſes. Though men cannot eaſily be prevailed with to regard theſe as the operation of the hand of God, the ſcriptures, which contain the rules and hiſtory of Divine Providence, repreſent theſe as inflicted for the ſins of nations, and not merely as caſual things, for which no account can be given. And therefore ſome of theſe cauſes which may ſeem natural, and which have begun to make their appearance, and the annual deſtructions thereof, which are conſtantly heard of in ſome part or other, may be conſidered as tokens of God's judgments againſt the Britiſh empire, and a variety of them might be named; ſuch as loſs of territory and

temporal dignity. From all ſuch enemies, good Lord, deliver them! for it is even better to loſe a temporal kingdom, than only to endanger the happineſs and enjoyment of an eternal one.

Nothing elſe can be conceived, but that the power of infernal wickedneſs has ſo reigned and pervaded over the enlightened nations, as to infatuate and lead on the great men, and the kings of Europe, to promote and eſtabliſh ſuch a horrible traffic of wickedneſs as the African ſlave trade and the Weſt-India ſlavery, and thereby to bring themſelves under the guilty reſponſibility of ſuch awful iniquity. The kings and governors of the nations in general have power to prevent their ſubjects and people from enſlaving and oppreſſing others, if they will; but if they do not endeavour to do it, even if they could not effect that good purpoſe, they muſt then be reſponſible for their crimes; how much more, if they make no endeavours towards it, even when they can, and where no oppoſition, however plauſible their pretences might be, would dare to oppoſe them. Wherefore, if kings or nations, or any men that dealeth unjuſtly with their fellow-creatures, to enſnare them, to enſlave them, and to oppreſs them, or ſuffer others to do ſo, when they have it in their power to prevent it, and yet they do not, can it ever be thought that God will be well pleaſed with them? For can thoſe which have no mercy on their fellow-creatures, expect to find mercy from the gracious Father of Men? Or will it not rather be ſaid unto them, as it is declared, *that he who leadeth into captivity, ſhall be carried captive, and be bound in the cords of his own iniquity: Though hand join in hand the wicked ſhall not go unpuniſhed; for ſin and wickedneſs is the deſtruction of any people.*

And

" example of retribution to deter other nations " from offending his eternal juſtice, if a ſincere " and ſpeedy repentance does not avert it."— " For ſuch notorious crimes the Almighty, even " the Lord, hath ſworn, *ſurely I will never forget " any of theſe works.*" See Amos viii. But the judgments of God are often ſuſpended and mitigated for the ſake of the righteous; and nations are preſerved from deſtruction in favour to them who remain faithful in times of general defection. Iſaiah i. 9. " *Except the Lord of Hoſts had left us a " very ſmall remnant, we ſhould have been as So- " dom, and we ſhould have been like unto Go- " morah.*"

But while ever ſuch a horrible buſineſs as the ſlavery and oppreſſion of the Africans is carried on, there is not one man in all Great-Britain and her colonies, that knoweth any thing of it, can be innocent and ſafe, unleſs he ſpeedily riſeth up with abhorrence of it in his own judgment, and, to avert evil, declare himſelf againſt it, and all ſuch notorious wickedneſs. But ſhould the contrary be adhered to, as it has been in the moſt ſhameful manner, by men of eminence and power; according to their eminence in ſtation, the nobles and ſenators, and every man in office and authority, muſt incur a double load of guilt, and not only that burden of guilt in the oppreſſion of the African ſtrangers, but alſo in that of an impending danger and ruin to their country; and ſuch a double load of iniquity muſt reſt upon thoſe guilty heads who withhold their teſtimony againſt the crying ſin of tolerating ſlavery. The inhabitants in general who can approve of ſuch inhuman barbarities, muſt themſelves be a ſpecies of unjuſt barbarians and inhuman men. But the

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infamous commerce of iniquity; and by the insidious instigation of those whose private emolument depends on it, the various profligate adventurers, from time to time, have acquired the sanction of laws to support them, and have obtained the patronage of kings in their favour to encourage them, whereby that commerce of the most notorious injustice, and open violation of the laws of God, hath been carried on exceedingly to the shame of all the Christian nations, and greatly to the disgrace of all the monarchs of Europe. The fact speaks itself: *And destruction shall be to the workers of iniquity.* The bold and ostensive enslavers of men, who subject their fellow-creatures to the rank of a brute, and the immolate value of a beast, are themselves the most abandoned slaves of infernal wickedness, the most obnoxious ruffians among men, the enemies of their country, and the disgrace of kings. Their iniquity is wrote in the light as with a sun-beam, and engraven on the hardest rock as with the point of a diamond, that cannot be easily wiped away: *But the wicked shall fall by their own wickedness.* And, nevertheless, by the insidious instigations of those who have forsaken the amiable virtues of men, and have acquired the cruel ferocity of tygers and wild beasts, they have not only polluted themselves with their iniquity, but their base treachery has brought shame and guilt upon some of the most exalted and most amiable characters in the world. And, therefore, that no evil may happen unto those who have been so shamefully beguiled and betrayed by the vile instigations of wicked, profligate, inhuman men, and that no shame and guilt may rest upon him, who standeth in the greatest eminence of responsibility, I would ever

desire

" and power is very uncertain) muſt neceſſarily " endanger a man's own eternal welfare, be he " ever ſo great in temporal dignity."

The higher that any man is exalted in power and dignity, his danger is the more eminent, though he may not live to ſee the evil that may eventually be contributed to his country, becauſe of his diſobedience to the law and commandments of God. All men in authority, and kings in general, who are exalted to the moſt conſpicuous offices of ſuperiority, while they take upon themſelves to be the adminiſtrators of righteouſneſs and juſtice to others, they become equally reſponſible for admitting or ſuffering others under their authority to do wrong. Wherefore the higheſt offices of authority among men, are not ſo deſirable as ſome may be apt to conceive; it was ſo conſidered by the virtuous queen Anne, when ſhe was called to the royal dignity, as ſhe declared to the council of the nation, that it was a heavy weight and burden brought upon her. For kings are the miniſters of God, to do juſtice, and not to bear the ſword in vain, but to revenge wrath upon them that do evil. But if they do not in ſuch a caſe as this, the cruel oppreſſions of thouſands, and the blood of the murdered Africans who are ſlain by the ſword of cruel avarice, muſt reſt upon their own guilty heads in as eventually and plain a ſenſe as it was David that murdered Uriah; and therefore they ought to let no companies of inſidious merchants, or any guileful inſinuations of wicked men, prevail upon them to eſtabliſh laws of iniquity, and to carry on a trade of oppreſſion and injuſtice; but they ought to conſider ſuch as the worſt of foes and rebels, and greater enemies than any that can riſe up againſt their

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on to greater improvements in civilization and felicitation, and next to aboliſh that other diabolical invention of the bloody and cruel African ſlave-trade, and the Weſt-Indian ſlavery.

But whereas the people of Great-Britain having now acquired a greater ſhare in that iniquitous commerce than all the reſt together, they are the firſt that ought to ſet an example, leſt they have to repent for their wickedneſs when it becomes too late; leſt ſome impending calamity ſhould ſpeedily burſt forth againſt them, and leſt a juſt retribution for their enormous crimes, and a continuance in committing ſimilar deeds of barbarity and injuſtice ſhould involve them in ruin. For we may be aſſured that God will certainly avenge himſelf of ſuch heinous tranſgreſſors of his law, and of all thoſe planters and merchants, and of all others, who are the authors of the Africans graves, ſeverities, and cruel puniſhments, and no plea of any abſolute neceſſity can poſſibly excuſe them. And as the inhabitants of Great-Britain, and the inhabitants of the colonies, ſeem almoſt equally guilty of the oppreſſion, there is great reaſon for both to dread the ſevere vengeance of Almighty God upon them, and upon all ſuch notorious workers of wickedneſs; for it is evident that the legiſlature of Great-Britain patroniſes and encourages them, and ſhares in the infamous profits of the ſlavery of the Africans. It is therefore neceſſary that the inhabitants of the Britiſh nation ſhould ſeriouſly conſider theſe things for their own good and ſafety, as well as for our benefit and deliverance, and that they may be ſenſible of their own error and danger, leſt they provoke the vengeance of the Almighty againſt them. For what wickedneſs was there ever riſen up ſo monſtrous,

And ſhould theſe nations, in the moſt obnoxious and tenacious manner, ſtill adhere to it as they have done, and continue to carry on in their colonies ſuch works and purpoſes of iniquity, in oppreſſion and injuſtice againſt the Africans, nothing elſe can be expected for them at laſt, but to meet with the fierce wrath of Almighty God, for ſuch a combination of wickedneſs, according to all the examples of his juſt retribution, who cannot ſuffer ſuch deliberate, ſuch monſtrous iniquity to go long unpuniſhed.

There is good reaſon to ſuppoſe, that it was far from the intention of Ferdinand, king of Spain, to uſe his new ſubjects in America in the brutal and barbarous manner that his people did; and happy for the credit of that nation, and the honor of mankind, even among the profligate adventurers which were ſent to conquer and deſolate the new world, there were ſome perſons that retained ſome tincture of virtue and generoſity, and ſome men of the greateſt reputation of both gentlemen and clergy, which did not only remonſtrate, but proteſt againſt their meaſures then carried on. And ſince that iniquitous traffic of ſlavery has commenced and been carried on, many gentlemen of the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation, of different nations, and particularly in England, have proteſted and remonſtrated againſt it. But the guileful inſinuations of avaricious wicked men, which prevailed formerly, have ſtill been continued; and to anſwer the purpoſes of their own covetouſneſs, the different nations have been fomented with jealouſy to one another, leaſt another ſhould have the advantage in any traffic; and while naturally emulous to promote their own ambition, they have imbrewed their hands in that

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two together when they were thrown into the ſea; leſt ſome of them might ſwim a little for the laſt gaſp of air, and, with the animation of their approaching exit, breath their ſouls away to the gracious Father of ſpirits. Some of the laſt parcel, when they ſaw the fate of their companions, made their eſcape from tying by jumping overboard, and one was ſaved by means of a rope from ſome in the ſhip. The owners of the veſſel, I ſuppoſe, (inhuman connivers of robbery, ſlavery, murder and fraud) were rather a little defeated in this, by bringing their villainy to light in a court of law; but the inhuman monſter of a captain was kept out of the way of juſtice from getting hold of him. Though ſuch perpetrators of murder and fraud ſhould have been ſought after from the Britiſh Dan in the Eaſt-Indies, to her Beerſhebah in the Weſt.

But our lives are accounted of no value, we are hunted after as the prey in the deſart, and doomed to deſtruction as the beaſts that periſh. And for this, ſhould we appeal to the inhabitants of Europe, would they dare to ſay that they have not wronged us, and grievouſly injured us, and that the blood of millions do not cry out againſt them? And if we appeal to the inhabitants of Great-Britain, can they juſtify the deeds of their conduct towards us? And is it not ſtrange to think, that they who ought to be conſidered as the moſt learned and civilized people in the world, that they ſhould carry on a traffic of the moſt barbarous cruelty and injuſtice, and that many, even among them, are become ſo diſſolute, as to think ſlavery, robbery and murder no crimes? But we will anſwer to this, that no man can, with impunity, ſteal, kidnap, buy or ſell another man,

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deſire to pray; let all the prayers of the wiſe and pious be heard for the king, and for his wiſe counſellors, and the great men that ſtand before him; for kings and great men ſtand in the moſt perilous ſituation of having the crimes of others imputed to them; wherefore kings have need of all your prayers, that the counſel of the wicked may not prevail againſt them, for theſe are the worſt foes, and moſt terrible enemies, both to yourſelves and to your ſovereign. *Righteouſneſs exalteth a nation, but ſin is a reproach to any people.*

In this advanced æra, when the kings of Europe are become more conſpicuous for their manly virtues, than any before them have been, it is to be hoped that they will not any longer ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon, and be beguiled, and brought into guilt and ſhame, by any inſtigations of the cunning craftineſs and evil policy of the avaricious, and the vile profligate enſlavers of men. And as their wiſdom and underſtanding is great, and exalted as their high dignity, it is alſo to be hoped that they will exert themſelves, in the cauſe of righteouſneſs and juſtice, and be like the wiſeſt and the greateſt monarchs of old, to hearken to the counſel of the wiſe men that know the times, and to the righteous laws of God, and to deliver the oppreſſed, and to put an end to the iniquitous commerce and ſlavery of men. And as we hear tell of the kings of Europe having almoſt aboliſhed, the infernal invention of the bloody tribunal of the inquiſition, and the Emperor and others making ſome grand reformations for the happineſs and good of their ſubjects; it is to be hoped alſo that theſe exalted and liberal principles will lead them

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the Africans are, by various pirates, kidnappers, and ſlave-holders, and their wives, and their ſons and daughters were to be robbed from them, or themſelves violently taken away to a perpetual and intolerable ſlavery; or whether they would not think thoſe robbers, who only took away their property, leſs injurious to them than the other. If they determine it ſo, as reaſon muſt tell every man, that himſelf is of more value than his property; then the executors of the laws of civilization ought to tremble at the inconſiſtency of paſſing judgment upon thoſe whoſe crimes, in many caſes, are leſs than what the whole legiſlature muſt be guilty of, when thoſe of a far greater is encouraged and ſupported by it wherever ſlavery is tolerated by law, and, conſequently, that ſlavery can no where be tolerated with any conſiſtency to civilization and the laws of juſtice among men; but if it can maintain its ground, to have any place at all, it muſt be among a ſociety of barbarians and thieves, and where the laws of their ſociety is, for every one to catch what he can. Then, when theft and robbery becomes no crimes, the man-ſtealer and the conniving ſlave-holder might poſſibly get free.

But the ſeveral nations of Europe that have joined in that iniquitous traffic of buying, ſelling and enſlaving men, muſt in courſe have left their own laws of civilization to adopt thoſe of barbarians and robbers, and that they may ſay to one another, *When thou ſaweſt a thief, then thou conſenteſt with him, and haſt been partaker with all the workers of iniquity.* But whereas every man, as a rational creature, is reſponſible for his actions, and he becomes not only guilty in doing evil himſelf,

monſtrous, and more likely to bring a heavy rod of deſtruction upon a nation, than the deeds committed by the Weſt-Indian ſlavery, and the African ſlave trade. And even in that part of it carried on by the Liverpool and Briſtol merchants, the many ſhocking and inhuman inſtances of their barbarity and cruelty are ſuch, that every one that heareth thereof has reaſon to tremble, and cry out, *Should not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein?*

The vaſt carnage and murders committed by the Britiſh inſtigators of ſlavery, is attended with a very ſhocking, peculiar, and almoſt unheard of conception, according to the notion of the perpetrators of it; they either conſider them as their own property, that they may do with as they pleaſe, in life or death; or that the taking away the life of a black man is of no more account than taking away the life of a beaſt. A very melancholy inſtance of this happened about the year 1780, as recorded in the courts of law; a maſter of a veſſel bound to the Weſtern Colonies, ſelected 132 of the moſt ſickly of the black ſlaves, and ordered them to be thrown overboard into the ſea, in order to recover their value from the inſurers, as he had perceived that he was too late to get a good market for them in the Weſt-Indies. On the trial, by the counſel for the owners of the veſſel againſt the underwriters, their argument was, that the ſlaves were to be conſidered the ſame as horſes; and their plea for throwing them into the ſea, was nothing better than that it might be more neceſſary to throw them overboard to lighten their veſſel than goods of greater value, or ſomething to that effect. Theſe poor creatures, it ſeems, were tied two and

two

ſlain a man to his own wounding, and a young man to his hurt. But thoſe mighty men of renown in the days of old, becauſe of their apoſtacy from God, and rebellion and wickedneſs to men, were at laſt all ſwallowed up by an nniverſal deluge for their iniquity and crimes.

But again let me obſerve, that whatever civilization the inhabitants of Great-Britain may enjoy among themſelves, they have ſeldom maintained their own innocence in that great duty as a Chriſtian nation towards others; and I may ſay, with reſpect to their African neighbours, or to any other whereſover they may go by the way of commerce, they have not regarded them at all. And when they ſaw others robbing the Africans, and carrying them into captivity and ſlavery, they have neither helped them, nor oppoſed their oppreſſors in the leaſt. But inſtead thereof they have joined in combination againſt them with the reſt of other profligate nations and people, to buy, enſlave and make merchandize of them, becauſe they found them helpleſs and fit to ſuit their own purpoſe, and are become the head carriers on of that iniquitous traffic. But the greater that any reformation and civilization is obtained by any nation, if they do not maintain righteouſneſs, but carry on any courſe of wickedneſs and oppreſſion, it makes them appear only the more inconſiſtent, and their tyranny and oppreſſion the more conſpicuous. Wherefore becauſe of the great wickedneſs, cruelty and injuſtice done to the Africans, thoſe who are greateſt in the tranſgreſſion give an evident and undubious warrant to all other nations beholding their tyranny and injuſtice to others, if thoſe nations have any regard to their own innocence and virtue,

without being guilty of the moſt atrocious villainy. And we will aver, that every ſlave-holder that claims any property in ſlaves, or holds them in an involuntary ſervitude, are the moſt obnoxious and diſſolute robbers among men; and that they have no more right, nor any better title to any one of them, than the moſt profligate and notorious robbers and thieves in the world, has to the goods which they have robbed and ſtole from the right owners and lawful poſſeſſor thereof. But ſhould the ſlave-holders ſay that they buy them; their title and claim is no better then that of the moſt notorious conniver, who buys goods from other robbers, knowing them to be ſtole, and accordingly gives an inferior price for them. According to the laws of England, when ſuch connivers are diſcovered, and the property of others unlawfully found in their poſſeſſion; the right owners thereof can oblige the connivers to reſtore back their property, and to puniſh them for their treſpaſs. But the ſlave-holders, univerſally, are thoſe connivers, they do not only rob men of ſome of their property, but they keep men from every property belonging to them, and compel them to their involuntary ſervice and drudgery; and thoſe whom they buy from other robbers, and keep in their poſſeſſion, are greatly injured by them when compared to any ſpecies of goods whatſoever; and accordingly they give but a very inferior price for men, as all their vaſt eſtates in the Weſt-Indies is not ſufficient to buy one of them, if the rightful poſſeſſor was to ſell himſelf to them in the manner that they claim poſſeſſion of him. Therefore let the inhabitants of any civilized nation determine, whether, if they were to be treated in the ſame manner that

But leſt any of theſe things ſhould happen to the generous and reſpectuful Britons, who are not altogether loſt to virtue and conſideration; let me ſay unto you, in the language of a wiſe and eminent Queen, as ſhe did when her people were ſold as a prey to their enemies: That it is not all your enemies (for they can be reckoned nothing elſe), the covetous inſtigators and carriers on of ſlavery and wickedneſs, that can in any way countervail the damage to yourſelves, to your king, and to your country; nor will all the infamous profits of the poor Africans avail you any thing if it brings down the avenging hand of God upon you. We are not ſaying that we have not ſinned, and that we are not deſerving of the righteous judgments of God againſt us. But the enemies that have riſen up againſt us are cruel, oppreſſive and unjuſt; and their haughtineſs of inſolence, wickedneſs and iniquity is like to that of Haman the ſon of Hammedatha; and who dare ſuppoſe, or even preſume to think, that the inhuman ruffians and enſnarers of men, the vile negociators and merchandizers of the human ſpecies, and the offenſive combinations of ſlave-holders in the Weſt have done no evil? And ſhould we be paſſive, as the ſuffering martyrs dying in the flames, whoſe blood crieth for vengeance on their perſecutors and murderers; ſo the iniquity of our oppreſſors, enſlavers and murderers riſe up againſt them. For we have been hunted after as the wild beaſts of the earth, and ſold to the enemies of mankind as their prey; and ſhould any of us have endeavoured to get away from them, as a man would naturally fly from an enemy that way-laid him; we have been purſued after, and, by haughty mandates and laws

himſelf, but in letting others rob and oppreſs their fellow-creatures with impunity, or in not delivering the oppreſſed when he has it in his power to help them. And likewiſe that nation which may be ſuppoſed to maintain a very conſiderable degree of civilization, juſtice and equity within its own juriſdiction, is not in that caſe innocent, while it beholds another nation or people carrying on perſecution, oppreſſion and ſlavery, unleſs it remonſtrates againſt that wickedneſs of the other nation, and makes uſe of every effort in its power to help the oppreſſed, and to reſcue the innocent. For ſo it ought to be the univerſal rule of duty to all men that fear God and keep his commandments, to do good to all men wherever they can; and when they find any wronged and injured by others, they ſhould endeavour to deliver the enſnared whatever their grievances may be; and ſhould this ſometimes lead them into war they might expect the protection and bleſſing of heaven. How far other motives may appear eligible for men to oppoſe one another with hoſtile force, it is not my buſineſs to enquire. But I ſhould ſuppoſe the hardy veterans who engage merely about the purpoſes of envying one another concerning any different advantages of commerce, or for enlarging their territories and dominions, or for the end of getting riches by their conqueſt; that if they fall in the combat, they muſt generally die, as the fool dieth, vaunting in vain glory; and many of them be like to thoſe who go out in darkneſs, never to ſee light; and ſhould they come off alive, what more does their honour and fame amount to, but only to be like that antediluvian conqueror, *who had*

robbed the widow, the orphans, the poor and the needy of their right, and whoſe children are rioting on the ſpoils of thoſe who are begging at their doors for bread. And ſhould they ſay, that their fathers were thieves and connivers with enſnarers of men, and that they have been brought up to the iniquitous practice of ſlavery and oppreſſion of their fellow-creatures, and they cannot live without carrying it on, and making their gain by the unlawful merchandize and cruel ſlavery of men, what is that to us, and where will it juſtify them? And ſome will be ſaying, that the Black people, who are free in the Weſt Indies, are more miſerable than the ſlaves;—and well they may; for while they can get their work and drudgery done for nothing, it is not likely that they will employ thoſe whom they muſt pay for their labour. But whatever neceſſity the enſlavers of men may plead for their iniquitous practice of ſlavery, and the various advantages which they get by it, can only evidence their own injuſtice and diſhoneſty. A man that is truly honeſt, fears nothing ſo much as the very imputation of injuſtice; but thoſe men who dare not face the conſequence of acting uprightly in every caſe are deteſtable cowards, unworthy the name of men; for it is manifeſt that ſuch men are more afraid of temporal inconveniencies than they are of God: *And I ſay unto you, my friends, be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do; but I will forwarn you whom you ſhall fear: Fear him, who, after he hath killed, hath power to caſt into hell.* Luke xii. 4, 5.

But why ſhould a total abolition, and an univerſal emancipation of ſlaves, and the enfranchiſement of all the Black People employed in the cul-

ture

tue, and wiſh to maintain righteouſneſs, and to remain clear of the oppreſſion and blood of all men; it is their duty to chaſtize and ſuppreſs ſuch unjuſt and tyrannical oppreſſors and enſlavers of men. And ſhould none of theſe be found among the enlightened and civilized nations, who maintain their own innocence and righteouſneſs, with regard to their duty unto all men; and that there may be none to chaſtize the tyrannical oppreſſors of others; then it may be feared, as it has often been, that fierce nations of various inſects, and other annoyances, may be ſent as a judgment to puniſh the wicked nations of men. For by ſome way or other every criminal nation, and all their confederates, who ſin and rebel againſt God, and againſt his laws of nature and nations, will each meet with ſome awful retribution at laſt, unleſs they repent of their iniquity. And the greater advantages of light, learning, knowledge and civilization that any people enjoy, if they do not maintain righteouſneſs, but do wickedly, they will meet with the more ſevere rebuke when the viſitations of God's judgment cometh upon them. And the prophecy which was given to Moſes, is ſtill as much in force againſt the enlightened nations now for their wickedneſs, in going after the abominations of heathens and barbarians, for none elſe would attempt to enſlave and make merchandize of men, as it was when denounced againſt the Iſraelitiſh nation of old, when they departed, or ſhould depart, from the laws and ſtatutes of the Moſt High. *The Lord ſhall bring a nation againſt thee, from far, from the ends of the earth, as ſwift as the eagle flieth, a nation whoſe tongue thou ſhalt not underſtand*, &c, See Deut. xxviii.

ſings of liberty ſhould be extended likewiſe, and that it ſhould diffuſe its influences firſt to fertilize the mind, and then the effects of its benignity would extend, and ariſe with exuberant bleſſings and advantages from all its operations. Was this to be the caſe, every thing would increaſe and proſper at home and abroad, and ten thouſand times greater and greater advantages would ariſe to the ſtate, and more permanent and ſolid benefit to individuals from the ſervice of freemen, than ever they can reap, or in any poſſible way enjoy, by the labour of ſlaves.

But why this diabolical traffic of ſlavery has not been aboliſhed before now, and why it was introduced at all, as I have already enquired, muſt be greatly imputed to that powerful and pervading agency of infernal wickedneſs, which reigneth and prevaileth over the nations, and to that umbrageous image of iniquity eſtabliſhed thereby; for had there been any truth and righteouſneſs in that grand horn of deluſion in the eaſt, which may ſeem admirable to ſome, and be looked upon by its votaries as the fine burniſhed gold, and bright as the fineſt poliſhed ſilver, then would not ſlavery, cruelty and oppreſſion have been aboliſhed wherever its influence came? And had the grand apoſtacy of its fellow horn, with all its lineaments been any better, and endowed with any real virtue and goodneſs, whom its devotees may behold as the fineſt poliſhed diamond, and gliſtening as the fineſt gems, then would not ſlavery and barbarity have been prohibited and forbidden wherever the beams of any Chriſtianity aroſe? Then might we have expected to hear tidings of good, even from thoſe who are gone to repoſe in the fabulous paradiſe of Mahomet? Then

laws of iniquity, overtaken, and murdered and ſlain, and the blood of millions cries out againſt them. And together with theſe that have been cruelly ſpoiled and ſlain, the very grievous afflictions that we have long ſuffered under, has been long crying for vengeance on our oppreſſors; and the great diſtreſs and wretchedneſs of human woe and miſery, which we are yet lying under, is ſtill riſing up before that High and Sovereign Hand of Juſtice, where men, by all their oppreſſion and cruelty, can no way prevent; their evil treatment of others may ſerve to increaſe the blow, but not to evade the ſtroke of His power, nor withhold the bringing down that arm of vengeance on themſelves, and upon all their connivers and confederators, and the particular inſtigators of ſuch wilful murders and inhuman barbarity. The life of a black man is of as much regard in the ſight of God, as the life of any other man; though we have been ſold as a carnage to the market, and as a prey to profligate wicked men, to torture and laſh us as they pleaſe, and as their caprice may think fit, to murder us at diſcretion.

And ſhould any of the beſt of them plead, as they generally will do, and tell of their humanity and charity to thoſe whom they have captured and enſlaved, their tribute of thanks is but ſmall; for what is it, but a little reſtored to the wretched and miſerable whom they have robbed of their all; and only to be dealt with, like the ſpoils of thoſe taken in the field of battle, where the wretched fugitives muſt ſubmit to what they pleaſe. For as we have been robbed of our natural right as men, and treated as beaſts, thoſe who have injured us, are like to them who have robbed

of his dominion and power ruleth over all. But in the day that we ſhall be ſpoken for, if we find you a wall, we would build upon you a palace of ſilver; and if you find us a door, incloſe us with boards of cedar, for we long, and would to God that we longed more, to enter into your fortreſs, and follow you to your happy retreat. Then might we, like you, ſtand undaunted before our foes, and with more than heroic ſullenneſs at all their cruel tortures, highly diſdain their rage, and boldly dare them to do their worſt. For you, O ye friends of the Moſt High, when you die, when ye are perſecuted and ſlain, when you fall in the combat, when you die in the battle, it is you! only you, that come off conquerors, and more than conquerors through him that loved you! And ſhould it yet be, as it has often been, that your foes might purſue you with their uſual arrogance and perſecuting rage, and cauſe you to die cruelly veiled in a curtain of blood, lo! your ſtains are all waſhed away, and your wounds and ſcars will ſoon be healed, and yourſelves will be then inveſted with a robe of honor that will ſhine in whiteneſs for ever new, and your blood that was ſhed by the terrific rage of your foes, will teſtify againſt them, and riſe up in grandeur to you, as an enfringement of gold floating in glory, and as his robe of honor which flames in eternal crimſon through the heavens. But we envy no man, but wiſh them to do good, and not evil; and we want the prayers of the good, and wherever they can to help us; and the bleſſing of God be with all the promoters of righteouſneſs and peace.

But wherefore, O beloved, ſhould your watchmen ſit ſtill, when they hear tell that the enemy is invading all the out-poſts and camp of the Britiſh

ture of the Colonies, taking place as it ought to do, and without any heſitation, or delay for a moment, even though it might have ſome ſeeming appearance of loſs either to government or to individuals, be feared at all? Their labour, as freemen, would be as uſeful in the ſugar colonies as any other claſs of men that could be found; and ſhould it even take place in ſuch a manner that ſome individuals, at firſt, would ſuffer loſs as a juſt reward for their wickedneſs in ſlave-dealing, what is that to the happineſs and good of doing juſtice to others; and, I muſt ſay, to the great danger, otherwiſe, that muſt eventually hang over the whole community? It is certain, that the produce of the labour of ſlaves, together with all the advantages of the Weſt-India traffic, bring in an immenſe revenue to government; but let that amount be what it will, there might be as much or more expected from the labour of an equal increaſe of free people, and without the implication of any guilt attending it, and which, otherwiſe, muſt be a greater burden to bear, and more ruinous conſequences to be feared from it, than if the whole national debt was to ſink at once, and to reſt upon the heads of all that might ſuffer by it. Whereas, if a generous encouragement were to be given to a free people, peaceable among themſelves, intelligent and induſtrious, who by art and labour would improve the moſt barren ſituations, and make the moſt of that which is fruitful; the free and voluntary labour of many, would ſoon yield to any government, many greater advantages than any thing that ſlavery can produce. And this ſhould be expected, wherever a Chriſtian government is extended, and the true religion is embraced, that the bleſ-

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God and the Saviour of men, and of all that delight in his ways of righteouſneſs, and of all the lovers of their country, and the friends of mankind, and of every real patriot in the land, and of every man and woman that dwelleth therein, and of all thoſe that have any pretence to charity, generoſity, ſenſibility and humanity, and whoever has any regard to innocence and virtue, to plead that ſlavery, with all its great and heinous magnitude of iniquity, might be aboliſhed throughout all the Britiſh dominions; and from henceforth to hinder and prohibit the carrying on of that barbarous, brutiſh and inhuman traffic of the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies, wherever the power and influence of the Britiſh empire extends. And in doing this, and always in doing righteouſly, let the glory and honour of it be alone aſcribed unto God Moſt High, for his great mercy and goodneſs to you; and that his bleſſings and unbounded beneficence may ſhine forth upon you, and upon all the promoters of it: and that it may with great honours and advantages of peace and proſperity be ever reſting upon the noble Britons, and upon their moſt worthy, moſt eminent and auguſt Sovereign, and upon all his government and the people under it; and that the ſtreams thereof may run down in righteouſneſs even to us, poor deplorable Africans.

And we that are particularly concerned would humbly join with all the reſt of our brethren and countrymen in complexion, who have been grievouſly injured, and who jointly and ſeparately, in all the language of grief and woe, are humbly imploring and earneſtly entreating the moſt reſpectful and generous people of Great-Britain, that they would conſider us, and have mercy and compaſſion

Then might we have looked for it from thoſe who are now reclined to ſlumber in aſſimulation with the old dotards of Rome, or to thoſe who are fallen aſleep and become enamoured with the ſcarlet couch of the abominable enchantreſs dyed in blood? And as well then might we not expect tenderneſs and compaſſion from thoſe whom the goddeſs of avarice has ſo allured with her charms, that her heart-ſick lovers are become reverſed to the feelings of human woe; and with the great hurry and buſtle of the ruſſet ſlaves employed in all the drudgeries of the weſtern iſles, and maritime ſhore, in the cruel and involuntary ſervice of her voluptuouſneſs, having ſo dazzled their eyes, and bereaved them of all ſenſibility, that their hearts are become callous as the nether mill-ſtone, fierce as the tygers, and devoid of the natural feelings of men? From all ſuch enchantments we would turn away, and fly from them as from the ravenous beaſts of prey, as from the weeping crocodiles and the devouring reptiles, and as from the hoary monſters of the deep.

But we would look unto you, O ye multitude in the deſart! againſt whom there is no enchantment, neither any divination whatever, that can prevail againſt you! for in your mouth there is no error or guile to be found, nor any fault before the throne of God. And what! though your dwellings be in all lands, and ye have no nation or kingdom on earth that ye can call your own, and your camp be ſurrounded with many enemies, yet you have a place of defence, an invincible fortreſs, the munitions of rocks for your refuge, and the ſhield of your anointed is Almighty; and behold his buckler is ſtrong, and his ſceptre is exalted on high, and the throne of

to the voice of our diſtreſs; for he hears the cries and groans of the oppreſſed, and profeſſes that if they cry at all unto him, he will hearken unto them, and deliver them. *For the oppreſſion of the poor, for the ſighing of the needy, now will I ariſe ſaith Jehovah, and will ſet him in ſafety from him that puffeth at him, or that would enſnare him.* (Pſa. xii. 5.) *And I know that Jehovah will maintain the cauſe of the afflicted, and the right of the poor.* (Pſa. cxl. 12.) Wherefore it is our duty to look up to a greater deliverer than that of the Britiſh nation, or of any nation upon earth; for unleſs God gives them repentance, and peace towards him, we can expect no peace or deliverance from them. But ſtill we ſhall have cauſe to truſt, that God who made of one blood all the nations and children of men, and who gave to all equally a natural right to liberty; that he who ruleth over all the kingdoms of the earth with equal providential juſtice, ſhall then make enlargement and deliverance to ariſe to the grievouſly injured, and heavy oppreſſed Africans from another place.

And as we look for our help and ſure deliverance to come from God Moſt High, ſhould it not come in an apparent way from Great-Britain, whom we conſider as the Queen of nations, let her not think to eſcape more than others, if ſhe continues to carry on oppreſſion and injuſtice, and ſuch pre-eminent wickedneſs againſt us: for we are only ſeeking that juſtice may be done to us, and what every righteous nation ought to do; and if it be not done, it will be adding iniquity to iniquity againſt themſelves. But let us not ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of the Britiſh nation will adhere to the ways of the profligate: *For ſuch is the*

tiſh empire, where many of your dwellings are? Are they all fallen aſleep, and lying down to ſlumber in aſſimilation with the workers of iniquity? Should not thoſe who are awake, ariſe, and give the alarm, that others may ariſe and awake alſo? And ſhould not they who feareth the name of the Lord, and worſhip in his holy temples, *Let judgment to run down as waters, and righteouſneſs as a mighty ſtream?* But why think ye prayers in churches and chapels only will do ye good, if your charity do not extend to pity and regard your fellow creatures periſhing through ignorance, under the heavy yoke of ſubjection and bondage, to the cruel and avaricious oppreſſion of brutiſh profligate men; and when both the injured, and their oppreſſors, dwell in ſuch a vicinity as equally to claim your regard? The injurers, oppreſſors, enſlavers, and murderers of others, eventually bring a curſe upon themſelves, as far as they deſtroy, injure, and cruelly and baſely treat thoſe under their ſubjection and unlawful bondage. And where ſuch a dreadful pre-eminence of iniquity abounds, as the admiſſion of laws for tolerating ſlavery and wickedneſs, and the worſt of robberies, not only of men's properties, but themſelves; and the many inhuman murders and cruelties occaſioned by it: If it meets with your approbation, it is your ſin, and you are then as a conniver and confederator with thoſe workers of wickedneſs; and if you give it a ſanction by your paſſive obedience, it manifeſts that you are gone over to thoſe brutiſh enemies of mankind, and can in no way be a true lover of your king and country.

Wherefore it ought to be the univerſal endeavour, and the ardent wiſh, of all the lovers of God

you wiſdom and underſtanding to deviſe what ought to be done.

Secondly, I would propoſe that a total abolition of ſlavery ſhould be made and proclaimed; and that an univerſal emancipation of ſlaves ſhould begin from the date thereof, and be carried on in the following manner: That a proclamation ſhould be cauſed to be made, ſetting forth the Antichriſtian unlawfulneſs of the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies; and that it ſhould be ſent to all the courts and nations in Europe, to require their advice and aſſiſtance, and as they may find it unlawful to carry it on, let them whoſoever will join to prohibit it. And if ſuch a proclamation be found adviſable to the Britiſh legiſlature, let them publiſh it, and cauſe it to be publiſhed, throughout all the Britiſh empire, to hinder and prohibit all men under their government to traffic either in buying or ſelling men; and, to prevent it, a penalty might be made againſt it of one thouſand pounds, for any man either to buy or ſell another man. And that it ſhould require all ſlave-holders, upon the immediate information thereof, to mitigate the labour of their ſlaves to that of a lawful ſervitude, without tortures or oppreſſion; and that they ſhould not hinder, but cauſe and procure ſome ſuitable means of inſtruction for them in the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion. And agreeable to the late *royal Proclamation, for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue, and for the preventing and puniſhing of Vice, Profaneneſs and Immorality*; that by no means, under any pretence whatſoever, either for themſelves or their maſters, the ſlaves under their ſubjection ſhould not be ſuffered to work on the Sabbath days, unleſs it be ſuch works as neceſſity

and

compaſſion on us, and to take away that evil that your enemies, as well as our oppreſſors, are doing towards us, and cauſe them to deſiſt from their evil treatment of the poor and deſpiſed Africans, before it be too late; and to reſtore that juſtice and liberty which is our natural right, that we have been unlawfully deprived and cruelly wronged of, and to deliver us from that captivity and bondage which we now ſuffer under, in our preſent languiſhing ſtate of exile and miſery. And we humbly pray that God may put it into the minds of the noble Britons, that they may have the honor and advantage of doing ſo great good to many, and to extend their power and influence to do good afar; and that great good in abundance may come down upon themſelves, and upon all their government and the people under it, in every place belonging to the Britiſh empire. But if the people and the legiſlature of Great-Britain altogether hold their peace at ſuch a time as this, and even laugh at our calamity as heretofore they have been wont to do, by making merchandize of us to enrich themſelves with our miſery and diſtreſs: we ſit like the mourning Mordecai's at their gates cloathed in ſackcloth; and, in this advanced era, we hope God in his Providence will riſe up a deliverance for us ſome other way; and we have great reaſon to hope that the time of our deliverance is faſt drawing nigh, and when the great Babylon of iniquity will fall.

And whereas we conſider our caſe before God of the whole univerſe, the Gracious Father and Saviour of men; we will look unto him for help and deliverance. The cry of our affliction is already gone up before him, and he will hearken

to

make enquiry concerning ſome of their friends and relations in Africa: and if they found any intelligent perſons amongſt them, to give them as good education as they could, and find out a way of recourſe to their friends; that as ſoon as they had made any progreſs in uſeful learning and the knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, they might be ſent back to Africa, to be made uſeful there as ſoon, and as many of them as could be made fit for inſtructing others. The reſt would become uſeful reſidentors in the colonies; where there might be employment enough given to all free people, with ſuitable wages according to their uſefulneſs, in the improvement of land; and the more encouragement that could be given to agriculture, and every other branch of uſeful induſtry, would thereby encreaſe the number of the inhabitants; without which any country, however bleſſed by nature, muſt continue poor.

And, thirdly, I would propoſe, that a fleet of ſome ſhips of war ſhould be immediately ſent to the coaſt of Africa, and particularly where the ſlave trade is carried on, with faithful men to direct that none ſhould be brought from the coaſt of Africa without their own conſent and the approbation of their friends, and to intercept all merchant ſhips that were bringing them away, until ſuch a ſcrutiny was made, whatever nation they belonged to. And, I would ſuppoſe, if Great-Britain was to do any thing of this kind, that it would meet with the general approbation and aſſiſtance of other Chriſtian nations; but whether it did or not, it could be very lawfully done at all the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa; and particular remonſtrances could be

given

the way of an adulterous woman; ſhe eateth, and wipeth her mouth; and ſaith, I have done no wickedneſs. But rather let us ſuppoſe, *That whereas iniquity hath abounded, may righteouſneſs much more abound.* For the wickedneſs that you have done is great, and wherever your traffic and colonies have been extended it is ſhameful; and the great injuſtice and cruelty done to the poor Africans crieth to heaven againſt you; and therefore that it may be forgiven unto you, it cries aloud for univerſal reformation and national repentance. But let it not ſuffice that a gracious call from the throne is inviting you, *To a religious obſervance of God's holy laws, as fearing, leſt God's wrath and indignation, ſhould be provoked againſt you*; but in your zeal for God's holy law, becauſe of the ſhameful tranſgreſſion thereof, every man every woman hath reaſon to mourn apart, and every one that dwelleth in the land ought to mourn and ſigh for all the abominations done therein, and for the great wickedneſs carried on thereby.

And now that bleſſings may come inſtead of a curſe, and that many beneficent purpoſes of good might ſpeedily ariſe and flow from it, and be more readily promoted: I would hereby preſume to offer the following conſiderations, as ſome outlines of a general reformation which ought to be eſtabliſhed and carried on. And firſt, I would propoſe, that there ought to be days of mourning and faſting appointed, to make enquiry into that great and pre-eminent evil for many years paſt carried on againſt the Heathen nations, and the horrible iniquity of making merchandize of us, and cruelly enſlaving the poor Africans: and that you might ſeek grace and repentance, and find mercy and forgiveneſs before God Omnipotent; and that he may give

degrees they became to love learning, there would be nothing in their power, but what they would wiſh to render their ſervice in return for the means of improving their underſtanding; and the preſent Britiſh factories, and other ſettlements, might be enlarged to a very great extent. And as Great-Britain has been remarkable for ages paſt, for encouraging arts and ſciences, and may now be put in competition with any nation in the known world, if they would take compaſſion on the inhabitants of the coaſt of Guinea, and to make uſe of ſuch means as would be needful to enlighten their minds in the knowledge of Chriſtianity, their virtue, in this reſpect, would have its own reward. And as the Africans became refined and eſtabliſhed in light and knowledge, they would imitate their noble Britiſh friends, to improve their lands, and make uſe of that induſtry as the nature of their country might require, and to ſupply thoſe that would trade with them, with ſuch productions as the nature of their climate would produce; and, in every reſpect, the fair Britons would have the preference with them to a very great extent; and, in another reſpect, they would become a kind of firſt ornament to Great-Britain for her tender and compaſſionate care of ſuch a ſet of diſtreſſed poor ignorant people. And were the noble Britons, and their auguſt Sovereign, to cauſe protection and encouragement to be given to thoſe Africans, they might expect in a ſhort time, if need required it, to receive from thence great ſupplies of men in a lawful way, either for induſtry or defence; and of other things in abundance, from ſo great a ſource, where every thing is luxurious and plenty, if not laid waſte by barbarity and groſs ignorance.

Due

and mercy may require. But that thoſe days, as well as ſome other hours ſelected for the purpoſe, ſhould be appropriated for the time of their inſtruction; and that if any of their owners ſhould not provide ſuch ſuitable inſtructors for them, that thoſe ſlaves ſhould be taken away from them and given to others who would maintain and inſtruct them for their labour. And that it ſhould be made known to the ſlaves, that thoſe who had been above ſeven years in the iſlands or elſewhere, if they had obtained any competent degree of knowledge of the Chriſtian religion, and the laws of civilization, and had behaved themſelves honeſtly and decently, that they ſhould immediately become free; and that their owners ſhould give them reaſonable wages and maintenance for their labour, and not cauſe them to go away unleſs they could find ſome ſuitable employment elſewhere. And accordingly, from the date of their arrival to ſeven years, as they arrive at ſome ſuitable progreſs in knowledge, and behaved themſelves honeſtly, that they ſhould be getting free in the courſe of that time, and at the end of ſeven years to let every honeſt man and woman become free; for in the courſe of that time, they would have ſufficiently paid their owners by their labour, both for their firſt purpoſe, and for the expences attending their education. By being thus inſtructed in the courſe of ſeven years, they would become tractable and obedient, uſeful labourers, dutiful ſervants and good ſubjects; and Chriſtian men might have the honor and happineſs to ſee many of them vieing with themſelves to praiſe the God of their ſalvation. And it might be another neceſſary duty for Chriſtians, in the courſe of that time, to

ſhould it be ſought after, like the intrepid Columbus, if they do not find kingdoms of wealth by the way, they may be certain of finding treaſures of happineſs and peace in the end. But ſhould there be any yet alive deſerving the infamy and character of all the harſh things which I have aſcribed to the inſidious carriers on of the ſlavery and commerce of the human ſpecies, they will certainly object to any thing of this kind being propoſed, or ever thought of, as doing ſo great a good to the baſe Black Negroes whom they make their prey. To ſuch I muſt ſay again, that it would be but a juſt commutation for what cannot be fully reſtored, in order to make reſtoration, as far as could be, for the injuries already done to them. And ſome may ſay, that if they have wages to pay to the labourers for manufacturing the Weſt-India productions, that they would not be able to ſell them at ſuch a price as would ſuit the European market, unleſs all the different nations agreed to raiſe the price of their commodities in proportion. Whatever bad neighbours men may have to deal with, let the upright ſhew themſelves to be honeſt men, and that difficuly, which ſome may fear, would be but ſmall, as there can be no reaſon for men to do wrong becauſe others do ſo; but as to what is conſumed in Great-Britain, they could raiſe the price in proportion, and it would be better to ſip the Weſt-India ſweetneſs by paying a little more money for it (if it ſhould be found needful) than to drink the blood of iniquity at a cheaper rate. I know ſeveral ladies in England who refuſe to drink ſugar in their tea, becauſe of the cruel injuries done to the Black People employed in the culture of it at the Weſt-Indies. But ſhould it

coſt

given to all the reſt, to warn them of the conſequences of ſuch an evil and enormous wicked traffic as is now carried on. The Dutch have ſome crocodile ſettlers at the Cape, that ſhould be called to a particular account for their murders and inhuman barbarities. But all the preſent governors of the Britiſh forts and factories ſhould be diſmiſſed, and faithful and good men appointed in their room; and thoſe forts and factories, which at preſent are a den of thieves, might be turned into ſhepherd's tents, and have good ſhepherds ſent to call the flocks to feed beſide them. Then would doors of hoſpitality in abundance be opened in Africa to ſupply the weary travellers, and that immenſe abundance which they are enriched with, might be diffuſed afar; but the character of the inhabitants on the weſt coaſt of Africa, and the rich produce of their country, have been too long miſrepreſented by avaricious plunderers and merchants who deal in ſlaves; and if that country was not annually raviſhed and laid waſte, there might be a very conſiderable and profitable trade carried on with the Africans. And, ſhould the noble Britons, who have often ſupported their own liberties with their lives and fortunes, extend their philanthropy to aboliſh the ſlavery and oppreſſion of the Africans, they might have ſettlements and many kingdoms united in a friendly alliance with themſelves, which might be made greatly to their own advantage, as well as they might have the happineſs of being uſeful to promoting the proſperity and felicity of others, who have been cruelly injured and wrongfully dealt with. Were the Africans to be dealt with in a friendly manner, and kind inſtruction to be adminiſtered unto them, as by

ployed in this manner, would form an uſeful militia, and the women would be kept from a ſtate of miſery and want, and from following a life of diſſolute wickedneſs. Liberty and freedom, where people may ſtarve for want, can do them but little good. We want many rules of civilization in Africa; but, in many reſpects, we may boaſt of ſome more eſſential liberties than any of the civilized nations in Europe enjoy; for the pooreſt amongſt us are never in diſtreſs for want, unleſs ſome general and univerſal calamity happen to us. But if any nation or ſociety of men were to obſerve the laws of God, and to keep his commandments, and walk in the way of righteouſneſs, they would not need to fear the heat in ſultry hot climates, nor the freezing inclemency of the cold, and the ſtorms and hurricanes would not hurt them at all; they might ſoon ſee bleſſings and plenty in abundance ſhowered down upon their mountains and vallies; and if his beneficence was ſought after, who martials out the drops of the dew, and bids the winds to blow, and to carry the clouds on their wings to drop down their moiſture and fatneſs on what ſpot ſoever he pleaſeth, and who cauſeth the genial rays of the ſun to warm and cheriſh the productions of the earth in every place according to that temperature which he ſees meet; then might the temperate climes of Great-Britain be ſeen to vie with the rich land of Canaan of old, which is now, becauſe of the wickedneſs of its inhabitants, in compariſon of what it was, as only a barren deſart.

Particular thanks is due to every one of that humane ſociety of worthy and reſpectful gentlemen, whoſe liberality hath ſupported many of the Black

poor

Due encouragement being given to ſo great, ſo juſt, and ſuch a noble undertaking, would ſoon bring more revenue in a righteous way to the Britiſh nation, than ten times its ſhare in all the profits that ſlavery can produce*; and ſuch a laudable example would inſpire every generous and enterprizing mind to imitate ſo great and worthy a nation, for eſtabliſhing religion, juſtice, and equity to the Africans, and, in doing this, would be held in the higheſt eſteem by all men, and be admired by all the world.

Theſe three preceding conſiderations may ſuffice at preſent to ſhew, that ſome plan might be adopted in ſuch a manner as effectually to relieve the grievances and oppreſſion of the Africans, and to bring great honour and bleſſings to that nation, and to all men whoſoever would endeavour to promote ſo great good to mankind; and it might render more conſpicuous advantages to the noble Britons, as the firſt doers of it, and greater honour than the finding of America was at firſt to thoſe that made the diſcovery: Though ſeveral difficulties may ſeem to ariſe at firſt, and the good to be ſought after may appear as remote and unknown, as it was to explore the unknown regions of the Weſtern Ocean;

* A gentleman of my acquaintance told me that, if ever he hears tell of any thing of this kind taking place, he has a plan in contemplation, which would, in ſome equitable manner, produce from one million to fifteen millions ſterling to the Britiſh government annually, as it might be required; of which a due proportion of that revenue would be paid by the Africans; and that it would prevent all ſmuggling and illicit traffic; in a great meaſure, prevent running into debt, long impriſonment, and all unlawful bankruptcies; effectually prevent all diſhoneſty and ſwindling, and almoſt put an end to all robbery, fraud and theft.

ſhould

it. Had a treaty of agreement been firſt made with the inhabitants of Africa, and the terms and nature of ſuch a ſettlement fixed upon, and its ſituation and boundary pointed out; then might the Africans, and others here, have embarked with a good proſpect of enjoying happineſs and proſperity themſelves, and have gone with a hope of being able to render their ſervices, in return, of ſome advantage to their friends and benefactors of Great-Britain. But as this was not done, and as they were to be hurried away at all events, come of them after what would; and yet, after all, to be delayed in the ſhips before they were ſet out from the coaſt, until many of them have periſhed with cold, and other diſorders, and ſeveral of the moſt intelligent among them are dead, and others that, in all probability, would have been moſt uſeful for them were hindered from going, by means of ſome diſagreeable jealouſy of thoſe who were appointed as governors, the great proſpect of doing good ſeems all to be blown away. And ſo it appeared to ſome of thoſe who are now gone, and at laſt, hap hazard, were obliged to go; who endeavoured in vain to get away by plunging into the water, that they might, if poſſible wade aſhore, as dreading the proſpect of their wretched fate, and as beholding their perilous ſituation, having every proſpect of difficulty and ſurrounding danger.

What with the death of ſome of the original promoters and propoſers of this charitable undertaking, and the death and deprivation of others that were to ſhare the benefit of it, and by the adverſe motives of thoſe employed to be the conductors thereof, we think it will be more than what can be well expected, if we ever hear

of

coſt the Weſt-Indians more money to have their manufactories carried by the labour of freemen than with ſlaves, it would be attended with greater bleſſings and advantages to them in the end. What the wages ſhould be for the labour of freemen, is a queſtion not ſo eaſily determined; yet I ſhould think, that it always ought to be ſomething more than merely victuals and cloaths; and if a man works by the day, he ſhould have the three hundredth part of what might be eſtimated as ſufficient to keep him in neceſſary cloaths and proviſions for a year, and, added to that, ſuch wages of reward as their uſefulneſs might require. Something of this kind ſhould be obſerved in free countries, and then the price of proviſions would be kept at ſuch a rate as the induſtrious poor could live, without being oppreſſed and ſcrewed down to work for nothing, but only barely to live. And were every civilized nation, where they boaſt of liberty, ſo ordered by its government, that ſome general and uſeful employment were provided for every induſtrious man and woman, in ſuch a manner that none ſhould ſtand ſtill and be idle, and have to ſay that they could not get employment, ſo long as there are barren lands enough at home and abroad ſufficient to employ thouſands and millions of people more than there are. This, in a great meaſure, would prevent thieves and robbers, and the labour of many would ſoon enrich a nation. But thoſe employed by the general community ſhould only have their maintenance either given or eſtimated in money, and half the wages of others, which would make them ſeek out for ſomething elſe whenever they could, and half a loaf would be better than no bread. The men that were employed

ſweet water and bitter? They were afraid that their doom would be to drink of the bitter water. For can it be readily conceived that government would eſtabliſh a free colony for them nearly on the ſpot, while it ſupports its forts and garriſons, to enſnare, merchandize, and to carry others into captivity and ſlavery.

Above fifty years ago, P. Gordon, in his Geography, though he was no advocate againſt ſlavery, complains of the barbarities committed againſt the Heathen nations, and the baſe uſage of the negroe ſlaves ſubjected to bondage as brutes, and deprived of religion as men. His remark on the religion of the American iſlands, ſays: "As for the negroe ſlaves, their lot has "hitherto been, and ſtill is, to ſerve ſuch Chriſ-"tian maſters, who ſufficiently declare what "zeal they have for their converſion, by un-"kindly uſing a ſerious divine ſome time ago, "for only propoſing to endeavour the ſame." This was above half a century ago, and their unchriſtian barbarity is ſtill continued. Even in the little time that I was in Grenada, I ſaw a ſlave receive twenty-four laſhes of a whip for being ſeen at a church on a Sunday, inſtead of going to work in the fields; and thoſe whom they put the greateſt confidence in, are often ſerved in the ſame manner. The noble propoſals offered for inſtructing the heathen nations and people in his Geography, has been attended to with great ſupineneſs and indifference. The author wiſhes, that "ſincere endeavours might be made "to extend the limits of our Saviour's kingdom, "with thoſe of our own dominions; and to "ſpread the true religion as far as the Britiſh fails "have done for traffic." And he adds, "Let

"our

poor about London. *Thoſe that honor their Maker have mercy on the poor; and many bleſſings are upon the head of the juſt: may the fear of the Lord prolong their days, and cauſe their memory to be bleſſed, and may their number be encreaſed to fill their expectation with gladneſs*; for they have not only commiſerated the poor in general, *but even thoſe which are accounted as beaſts, and imputed as vile in the ſight of others.* The part that the Britiſh government has taken, to co-operate with them, has certainly a flattering and laudable appearance of doing ſome good; and the fitting out ſhips to ſupply a company of Black People with clothes and proviſions, and to carry them to ſettle at Sierra Leona, in the Weſt coaſt of Africa, as a free colony to Great-Britain, in a peaceable alliance with the inhabitants, has every appearance of honour, and the approbation of friends. According to the plan, humanity hath made its appearance in a more honorable way of coloniZation, than any Chriſtian nation have ever done before, and may be productive of much good, if they continue to encourage and ſupport them. But after all, there is ſome doubt whether their own flattering expectation in the manner as ſet forth to them, and the hope of their friends may not be defeated and rendered abortive; and there is ſome reaſon to fear, that they never will be ſettled as intended, in any permanent and peaceable way at Sierra Leona.

This proſpect of ſettling a free colony to Great-Britain in a peaceable alliance with the inhabitants of Africa at Sierra Leona, has neither altogether met with the credulous approbation of the Africans here, nor yet been ſought after with any prudent and right plan by the promoters of it.

the infidious pirates, depredators, murderers and ſlave-holders. And as it might diffuſe knowledge and inſtruction to others, that it might receive a tribute of reward from all its territories, forts and garriſons, without being oppreſſive to any. But contrary to this the wickedneſs of many of the White People who keep ſlaves, and contrary to all the laws and duties of Chriſtianity which the Scriptures teach, they have in general endeavoured to keep the Black People in total ignorance as much as they can, which muſt be a great diſhonor to any Chriſtian government, and injurious to the ſafety and happineſs of rulers.

But in order to diffuſe any knowledge of Chriſtianity to the unlearned Heathens, thoſe who undertake to do any thing therein ought to be wiſe and honeſt men. Their own learning, though the more the better, is not ſo much required as that they ſhould be men of the ſame mind and principles of the apoſtle Paul; men that would hate coveteouſneſs, and who would hazard their lives for the cauſe and goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. "I think it needleſs to "to expreſs how commendable ſuch a deſign "would be in itſelf, and how deſirable the pro-"motion thereof ſhould be to all who ſtile themſelves Chriſtians, of what party or profeſſion "ſoever they are." Rational methods might be taken to have the Scriptures tranſlated into many foreign languages; "and a competent number "of young ſtudents of theology might be edu-"cated at home in theſe foreign languages, to "afford a conſtant ſupply of able men, who "might yearly go abroad, and be ſufficiently "qualified at their firſt arrival to undertake the "great work for which they were ſent." But

as

of any good in proportion to ſo great, well-deſigned, laudable and expenſive charity. Many more of the Black People ſtill in this country would have, with great gladneſs, embraced the opportunity, longing to reach their native land; but as the old ſaying is, A burnt child dreads the fire, ſome of theſe unfortunate ſons and daughters of Africa have been ſeverally unlawfully dragged away from their native abodes, under various pretences, by the inſidious treachery of others, and have been brought into the hands of barbarous robbers and pirates, and, like ſheep to the market, have been ſold into captivity and ſlavery, and thereby have been deprived of their natural liberty and property, and every connection that they held dear and valuable, and ſubjected to the cruel ſervice of the hard-hearted brutes called planters. But ſome of them, by various ſervices either to the public or to individuals, as more particularly in the courſe of laſt war, have gotten their liberty again in this free country. They are thankful for the reſpite, but afraid of being enſnared again; for the European ſeafaring people in general, who trade to foreign parts, have ſuch a prejudice againſt Black People, that they uſe them more like aſſes than men, ſo that a Black Man is ſcarcely ever ſafe among them. Much aſſiduity was made uſe to perſwade the Black People in general to embrace the opportunity of going with this company of tranſports; but the wiſer ſort declined from all thoughts of it, unleſs they could hear of ſome better plan taking place for their ſecurity and ſafety. For as it ſeemed prudent and obvious to many of them taking heed to that ſacred enquiry, *Doth a fountain ſend forth at the ſame place*

ſweet

intemperate, *frenzy*, *enthuſiaſtic*, and *fanaticiſm* may be variouſly applied, and often wrongfully; but, perhaps never better, or more fitly, than to be aſcribed as the genuine character of this author's brutiſh philoſophy; and he may ſubſcribe it, and the meaning of theſe words, with as much affinity to himſelf, as he bears a relation to a *Hume*, or to his friend *Tobin*. The poor negroes in the Weſt-Indies, have ſuffered enough by ſuch religion as the philoſophers of the North produce; Proteſtants, as they are called, are the moſt barbarous ſlave-holders, and there are none can equal the Scotch floggers and negroe-drivers, and the barbarous Dutch cruelties. Perhaps as the church of Rome begins to ſink in its power, its followers may encreaſe in virtue and humanity; ſo that many, who are the profeſſed adherents thereof, would even bluſh and abhor the very mention of the cruelty and bloody deeds that their anceſtors have committed; and we find ſlavery itſelf more tolerable among them, than it is in the Proteſtant countries.

But I ſhall add another obſervation, which I am ſorry to find among Chriſtians, and I think it is a great deficiency among the clergy in general, when covetous and profligate men are admitted amongſt them, who either do not know, or dare not ſpeak the truth, but neglect their duty much, or do it with ſuch ſupineneſs, that it becomes good for nothing. Sometimes an old woman ſelling matches, will preach a better, and a more orthodox ſermon, than ſome of the clergy, who are only decked out (as Mr. Turnbul calls it) with the external trappings of religion. Much of the great wickedneſs of others lieth at their door, and theſe words of the Prophet are applicable to them: *And firſt, ſaith*

" our planters duly conſider, that to extirpate " natives, is rather a ſupplanting than planting a " new colony; and that it is far more honoura- " ble to overcome paganiſm in one, than to de- " ſtroy a thouſand pagans. Each convert is a " conqueſt."

To put an end to the [redacted] ſlavery and merchandizing of men, and to prevent murder, extirpation and diſſolution, is what every righteous nation ought to ſeek after; and to endeavour to diffuſe knowledge and inſtruction to all the heathen nations wherever they can, is the grand duty of all Chriſtian men. But while the horrible traffic of ſlavery is admitted and practiced, there can be but little hope of any good propoſals meeting with ſucceſs anywhere; for the abandoned carriers of it on have ſpread the poiſon of their iniquity wherever they come, at home and abroad. Were the iniquitous laws in ſupport of it, and the whole of that oppreſſion and injuſtice aboliſhed, and the righteous laws of Chriſtianity, equity, juſtice and humanity eſtabliſhed in the room thereof, multitudes of nations would flock to the ſtandard of truth, and inſtead of revolting away, they would count it their greateſt happineſs to be under the protection and juriſdiction of a righteous government. And in that reſpect, *in the multitude of the people is the King's honour; but in the want of people, is the deſtruction of the Prince.*

We would wiſh to have the grandeur and fame of the Britiſh empire to extend far and wide; and the glory and honor of God to be promoted by it, and the intereſt of Chriſtianity ſet forth among all the nations wherever its influence and power can extend; but not to be ſupported by the

And let me now hope that you will pardon me in all that I have been thus telling you, O ye inhabitants of Great-Britain! to whom I owe the greateſt reſpect; to your king! to yourſelves! and to your government! And tho' many things which I have written may ſeem harſh, it cannot be otherwiſe evaded when ſuch horible iniquity is tranſacted: and tho' to ſome what I have ſaid may appear as the rattling leaves of autumn, that may ſoon be blown away and whirled in a vortex where few can hear and know: I muſt yet ſay, although it is not for me to determine the manner, that the voice of our complaint implies a vengeance, becauſe of the great iniquity that you have done, and becauſe of the cruel injuſtice done unto us Africans; and it ought to ſound in your ears as the rolling waves around your circum-ambient ſhores; and if it is not hearkened unto, it may yet ariſe with a louder voice, as the rolling thunder, and it may encreaſe in the force of its volubility, not only to ſhake the leaves of the moſt ſtout in heart, but to rend the mountains before them, and to cleave in pieces the rocks under them, and to go on with fury to ſmite the ſtouteſt oaks in the foreſt; and even to make that which is ſtrong, and wherein you think that your ſtrength lieth, to become as ſtubble, and as the fibres of rotten wood, that will do you no good, and your truſt in it will become a ſnare of infatuation to you!

F I N I S.

as a hindrance to this, the many Anti-chriſtian errors which are gone abroad into the world, and all the popiſh ſuperſtition and nonſenſe, and the various aſſimilations unto it, with the falſe philoſophy which abounds among Chriſtians, ſeems to threaten with an univerſal deluge; but God hath promiſed to fill the world with a knowledge of himſelf, and he hath ſet up his bow, in the rational heavens, as well as in the clouds, as a token that he will ſtop the proud ways of error and deluſion, that hitherto they may come, and no farther. The holy arch of truth is to be ſeen in the azure paths of the pious and wiſe, and conſpicuouſly painted in crimſon over the martyrs tombs. Theſe, with the golden altars of truth, built up by the reformed churches, and many pious, good and righteous men, are bulwarks that will ever ſtand againſt all the forts of error. Teaching would be exceeding neceſſary to the pagan nations and ignorant people in every place and ſituation; but they do not need any unſcriptural forms and ceremonies to be taught unto them; they can deviſe ſuperſtitions enough among themſelves, and church government too, if ever they need any.

And hence we would agree in this one thing with that erroneous philoſopher, who has lately wrote *An Apology for Negro Slavery*, "But if the "ſlave is only to be made acquainted with the "form, without the ſubſtance; if he is only to "be decked out with the external trappings of "religion; if he is only to be taught the un-"cheering principles of gloomy ſuperſtition; or, "if he is only to be inſpired with the intemperate "frenzy of enthuſiaſtic fanaticiſm, it were better "that he remained in that dark ſtate, where he "could not ſee good from ill." But theſe words

ſaith the Lord, I will recompence their iniquity, and their ſin double; becauſe they have defiled my land, they have filled mine inheritance with the carcaſes of their deteſtable and abominable things. Such are the errors of men. Church, ſignifies an aſſembly of people; but a building of wood, brick or ſtone, where the people meet together, is generally called ſo; and ſhould the people be frightened away by the many abominable dead carcaſes which they meet with, they ſhould follow the multitudes to the fields, to the vallies, to the mountains, to the iſlands, to the rivers, and to the ſhips, and compel them to come in, that the houſe of the Lord may be filled. But when we find ſome of the covetous connivers with ſlave-holders, in the Weſt-Indies, ſo ignorant as to diſpute whether a Pagan can be baptized without giving him a Chriſtian name, we cannot expect much from them, or think that they will follow after much good. No name, whether Chriſtian or Pagan, has any thing to do with baptiſm; if the requiſite qualities of knowledge and faith be found in a man, he may be baptized let his name be what it will. And Chriſtianity does not require that we ſhould be deprived of our own perſonal name, or the name of our anceſtors; but it may very fitly add another name unto us, Chriſtian, or one anointed. And it might as well be anſwered ſo to that queſtion in the Engliſh liturgy, *What is your name?*—A Chriſtian.

" *A Chriſtian is the higheſt ſtile of man!*
" *And is there, who the bleſſed croſs wipes off*
" *As a foul blot, from his diſhonor'd brow?*
" *If angels tremble, 'tis at ſuch a ſight:*
" *The wretch they quit diſponding of their charge,*
" *More ſtruck with grief or wonder who can tell?*"